FOREIGN DISSERTATION 253

B 2 596022

UC-NRLF

B 2 596 022

"CAPTAIN" COOKE

AND HIS CHOIR-BOYS.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF SECULAR MUSIC IN ENGLAND.

Thèse pour le doctorat ès lettres présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris.

PAR

HENRI DUSSAUZE.

LIBRARY

SEP 26 1950

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/captaincookehisc00dussrich

"CAPTAIN" COOKE AND HIS CHOIR BOYS

"CAPTAIN" COOKE AND HIS CHOIR BOYS

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF SECULAR MUSIC IN ENGLAND

Thèse pour le doctorat ès lettres présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris.

PAR
HENRI DUSSAUZE

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 9

PART I

CHAP.

I. THE MEN AND THEIR TIMES 11

II. FORMATION AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCHOOL 39

PART II

I. INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC: SONGS AND PLAYS . 64

II. THE ODES 90

CONCLUSION 114

INTRODUCTION

THE group of musicians brought together after Charles the Second's restoration by the singer known as "Captain" Henry Cooke is interesting both for the musician and the sociologist.

It included the most famous and representative English composers of the time, its youngest member being Henry Purcell; and the history of these musicians, of their surroundings, their life and their work, helps to explain that sudden and ephemeral development of music in England, which seems at first sight almost paradoxical.

With the twofold object of shedding some light on the sociological problem and at the same time of making known a work which is now unjustly forgotten, we shall devote our attention to Cooke and his pupils, leaving aside Henry Purcell, and limiting ourselves almost entirely to their secular music.

Purcell is now pretty well known, thanks to the beautiful edition published by the Purcell Society. Comments on his compositions are not lacking, and if any new work were undertaken on such a subject it were well worth a monograph. Moreover, Purcell is less a pupil of Cooke's than of his oldest pupils, although he worked for some eight years under him, and his precociousness shows his early training was of no small importance. He was only fourteen when the master died, and profited more by the teaching of Humfrey and Blow. Purcell's

work marks the final result of a movement of which we would more specially study the birth and growth.

On the other hand, the sacred music of the school will not take up much of our attention because it has already been ably studied by Sir Hubert Parry in the "Oxford History of Music," and because it is historically less instructive than the secular works. The remarkable fact connected with the history of that period is indeed the passage from sacred to secular music. The former had lost the purity of the Catholic masterpieces, and the composers of the English Restoration fall an easy prey to critics who judge them from the standpoint of Christian art. Their chief qualities are those we seek for in secular compositions, and we can fully appreciate them only in those works in the composition of which the musician was not fettered by his theological subject, and which could be listened to without questioning whether it was suited to the theological spirit.

Such being the extent and purpose of our investigation, we shall successively consider the men and their times, and the work they have left us.

PART I

GENERAL VIEW

CHAPTER I

THE MEN AND THEIR TIMES

THE history of the English Restoration is associated in every mind with the brilliant Memoirs of Gramont, Pepys' confessions and compliant observations, and Evelyn's indignant evidence. Aristocratic rakes such as the Duke of Buckingham, Rochester, Sir Charles Sedley were no doubt downright criminals or madmen, and some of the dissolute women of Charles' Court were not unsuited to such types of human degeneracy. But society should not be judged by a few extreme characters. Whatever may have been the vices of the time, there was both at Court and in town a general atmosphere of sociability, politeness, and naturalness which would do no harm to the modern money-making Anglo-Saxon. If such qualities were often marred by a certain lack of moderation, it was partly owing to the fear of Puritanism, a reaction never being moderate. But as a whole the prevailing spirit was not so bad as was alleged by the following generation, and offered the special advantage of being favourable to artistic creation.

At Court there was an unending succession of balls, masks, feasts, games, and entertainments of every

description. Scarcely a day passed which did not close with some brilliant festival at Whitehall or at a lord's residence. Processions were constantly moving from Westminster to the City; on summer evenings beautiful barges glided along the Thames from London to Hampton Court.

The other sections of the community were scarcely less keen at merrymaking. The fairs were well attended by a noisy people; taverns were frequented by citizens of all classes; at the more refined coffee-houses, the forerunners of the modern club, distinguished personages, professors, writers, artists, political men, met and discussed the topics of the day. The habit of living, as it were, out of doors, of directly sharing the collective life of the city, of fraternising with the man in the street, was then as common in London as in Latin countries. The Englishman of the Stuart period was not like many a descendant of the present day, who, on returning home from business, walks through the streets as though he were in a desert island and shuts himself up; who occasionally goes to the theatre because there he can sit, and look, and listen without being compelled to talk to anyone; whose idea of hospitality is that his guests should "make themselves comfortable" without troubling about any exchange of ideas or sentiments; and who would never be willing to drink in a public-house were not all the windows carefully wainscoted or the glass ground for fear anyone might see him from the street.

The habitual expansion of social life led to greater freedom and ease within the circle of relations and friends; Pepys even talks of going to see a friend's wife in bed as a most natural occurrence. It was also attended with frequent and friendly intercourse between all classes. When the respective position of each in the social hierarchy is sufficiently defined and recognised it is far easier for classes to mix together than when everyone is battling to

reach a higher position and convince his surroundings of his much-disputed superiority. Even in England little notice was taken of those class barriers which are so fiercely upheld to-day by a haughty and stupid plutocracy and a jealous proletariate. Now Pepys is talking to the King; now he is teaching Mercer to sing; now he is dining at Lord Sandwich's; and now in the City with a butcher.

At the time of the Restoration we still find merry England of Elizabethan days hardly disturbed yet by the puritanic upheaval, but, as it were, mustering up all the social life and merriness she can find before the threatening cloud breaks over her.

Simultaneously with this particular state of English society we witness a general liking for music. According to the accounts of the time, a sort of musical wave had swept over the land, or at least over London. In every sphere, from the King down to the humblest servant, from Charles II. to Mercer, all appear to be affected by the craze.

The brilliant Court of the Merry Monarch takes the lead. Charles II. hastens to reorganise chapels and theatres. He calls for all the best-known musicians of the preceding period who have survived the revolution, most of whom, it is worth noting, remained loyal to the banished monarch. Lowe, Henry Lawes, Rogers, Coleman, Bannister, Hingiston, Matthew Locke, Childe, Christopher Gibbons, and many others are appointed to important offices, and enjoy especial favours. Charles surrounds himself with violinists, "composers to his Majesty," "gentlemen of the Chapel Royal," etc. Italian, French, and German musicians, Nicholas Laniere, J. Baptist Draghi, Grabu, Francesco Corbeta, etc., are enthusiastically welcomed.

The King is not only a powerful protector of music; he directly interferes with its development. He himself

selects his musicians and music, and points out the reforms he would have carried out in the anthems sung at the Chapel Royal. He is fond of Italian music and requests Blow to compose a song in imitation of Carissimi's " Dite o cieli," but above all he prefers the French style. At an entertainment after supper he actually bids Singleton's music stop and makes the French music play.* He immediately detects Humfrey's ability, and manifests his pleasure on hearing his first anthem, " keeping good time with his hand all along the anthem," says Pepys. Soon after he sends the young musician to Paris to study under Lulli. Humfrey he also entrusts with the music of a poem written by himself, " I Pass all my Hours in a Shady Old Grove."

Courtiers and noblemen shared their Sovereign's tastes. Nearly everyone at Whitehall could sing, play the lute or guitar, or even compose. Music naturally formed part of Court ladies' accomplishments, and musical skill was one of the most effective means of gaining access to their favour. The Duke of Buckingham was at one time in high esteem with Frances Stuart, not only because he could build wonderful card mansions, but because he had a good voice and delighted her with songs of his own invention. The famous Duke also had at his service his own band of fiddlers. When Francesco Corbeta arrived at Court with his guitar, that instrument became fashionable, and everyone at Whitehall wanted to learn to play. The Duke of York and Lord Arran strove to rival the musician.

Evelyn attended concerts at the houses of the Lords Falkland, Brouncker, Sunderland, Lauderdale, Rochester, Tuke, etc. But the most musical of all was Lord Sandwich, Pepys' relation and patron. When he went to Portugal to fetch the Queen, he made good use of his musicians. During the voyage the Queen never put her

* " Pepys' Diary," 1st November, 1660.

head out of her cabin, but, says Pepys, "did love my lord's music, and would send for it down to the state-room, and she sit in her cabin within hearing of it." He himself aspired to the distinction of passing for a composer, and Cooke and his boys performed an anthem by him at the Chapel Royal, which Pepys found pretty, and says was commended by all.

Music was not only an aristocratic hobby; it was a favourite pastime with the other classes. Instruments of every description were to be found in private houses. In his account of the great fire Pepys remarks: "River full of lighters and boats, taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water, and only I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in but there was a pair of virginals in it." *

At the barber's and dentist's shop, instead of our modern illustrated magazines, customers would find a lute, a cithern, a viol, or virginals, to beguile the time. In every inn travellers were offered the services of itinerant fiddlers.

Many people, according to an account by one William Turner (who is probably not the same as Dr Turner, one of Cooke's pupils), regarded themselves as "composers of musick, having a little smattering thereto, by forming of some light airs which are the wild flirts of an irregular fancy, not at all digested for want of skill, and which when done they procure someone or other of superior talents to patch up an ill-favoured visage, by setting of bases, trebles, etc., to such unsavoury productions, after which those people of extrajudicious judgment pass for masters of music, by getting their names affixed in print to their performances which in reality are not their own." †

Such enthusiasm naturally gave rise to theoretic

* 3rd September, 1666.

† "On the Abuse of Music," p. 2.

studies on music. The Royal Society, instituted very soon after the Restoration, devoted much attention to acoustics and harmony; the president, Lord Brouncker, translated Descartes' treatise "De Musica," adding learned notes. Gresham College was not less interested in this branch of knowledge; versatile Sir William Petty was appointed Professor of Music, and in his "Advice to Hartlib" awarded it an important place in his scheme of general education. About the same time appeared an "Introductory Essay to the Doctrine of Sound" by Narcissus and Leighlin, Matthew Locke's "Melothesia," written in connection with a famous controversy with Thomas Salmon, and "A Discourse on Natural Grounds and Principles of Harmony," by William Holder.

As may easily be imagined the development of both the theory and practice of music was not unattended by some attempts at a general philosophy of music adorned with ambitious metaphysical speculations. William Turner, who satirises the would-be composers of his time, also approaches such high philosophical considerations.

"The bearings of all these discords and concords in their turns are of excellent signification, as well as infinite in variation; and we may truly say that musick itself includes in some measure the whole seven liberal arts, for there is not any sentence in speech but what is not expressed in musick by the help of some cadence answerable to each sentence; for as there are different kinds of sentences, or, to speak more intelligibly, different matter for expression according to the subject spoken of, so are there as many different cadences, directly answering them all, alluding to the several points or stops, in writing. And as its scope is infinite, so must its numbers also be with respect to its infinite variation. Chromatick musick may be said to be geometrical, by extending and contracting of sounds . . . from their natural situa-

tion, etc. The seven plain degrees of sound may be said to bear an allusion to the seven planets . . . Here is a very great mystery which confounds all our philosophy, and which time will hardly, I believe, account for.

" Besides all this it expresseth all the different passions of mankind, and not only so, but by the force of its most prevailing charms, it wonderfully affects them too, and to such a degree that musick may be justly called (for which I have something more than human authority) an enchanting art; by sometimes giving a loose to, and at others by bridling our unruly inclinations, according to the subject which is composed, and the interweaving of the different parts moving together in harmony; one, while inclining the minds of the people to deliver themselves up to sensual pleasures, by indulging the insatiable carnal appetite, which knows no limits; and at other times, when rightly applied, it affords such internal comfort to them as disengages their thoughts from all earthly enjoyments, and disposes the soul to look with earnest attention on the only object of its true felicity, the beatifick vision."

In the life of the community musicians became strong enough to protect their interests, and founded the Corporation of Musicians, of which the first marshal, Nicholas Laniere, was soon succeeded by Captain Henry Cooke. The institution of the Annual Festival of St Cecilia in 1683 was also the outcome of this unprecedented outburst of musical enthusiasm. Nor were purely musical entertainments limited to such a festival; many concerts were organised, mainly at the Stationers' Hall.

Of all the lovers of music the keenest seem to have been those high officials who came into touch with the Court and aristocracy and at the same time were not absorbed by their reckless pursuit of more or less unæsthetic amusement. Mr Slingsby, Master of the Mint, often mentioned by Pepys and Evelyn, held frequent concerts

at his house. In 1673-4 (2nd December) Evelyn attended one of these meetings at which he heard "Signor Francesco" on the harpsichord, "Nicholas," and Mrs Knight, who "sung incomparably and doubtless had the greatest reach of any English woman; she had been lately roaming in Italy and was much improved in that quality." On another occasion (1678-9) he dined at Mr Slingsby's with his wife, "invited to hear music which was exquisitely performed by four of the most renowned masters: Du Prue, a Frenchman, on the lute; Signor Bartolomeo, an Italian, on the harpsichord; Nicholas on the violin; but above all, for it sweetness and novelty, the viol d'amore of five wire strings, played on with a bow, being but an ordinary violin, played on lyreway, by a German. There was also a flute douce, now in much request for accompanying the voice. Mr Slingsby, whose son and daughter played skilfully, had these meetings frequently in his house."

Evelyn himself, although more intent on the art of drawing and painting, and a connoisseur in pictures and prints, was much interested in music. His diary contains many judgments on various musicians, and his admiration for "Signor Nicholao" is unbounded.

"I never heard mortal man exceed [him] on that instrument.* He had a stroke so sweet, and made it speak like the voice of a man, and, when he pleased, like a concert of several instruments. He did wonders upon a note, and was an excellent composer."† Evelyn also invited musicians to his own house, and selected, as teachers of music and dancing for his beloved daughter Mary, "Signor Bartolomeo" and "Monsieur Isaac," "reputed the best masters of their time." The father was particularly proud of his daughter's skill. In 1684-5 (28th January) she sang at Lord Arundel's before

* The violin.

† 19th November, 1673.

Pordage and J. B. Draghi, "to the great satisfaction of both the masters and a world of people of quality present." On the following evening she renewed her performance at Lord Rochester's. In his touching tribute to her memory the bereaved father lays stress on such accomplishments.

"She had an excellent voice, to which she played a thoroughbass on the harpsichord; in both she arrived to that perfection, that of the scholars of those two famous masters, Signors Pietro and Bartolomeo, she was esteemed the best; for the sweetness of her voice and management of it added such an agreeableness to her countenance, without any constraint or concern, that when she sung it was as charming to the eye as to the ear—this I rather note because it was a universal remark, and for which so many noble and judicious persons in music desired to hear her, the last being at Lord Arundel's of Wardour."

But the most enthusiastic amateur musician was Pepys. Pepys had a veritable passion for music. He was fond of singing, and learnt to play many of the then known instruments—flute, viol, lute, etc., and finally bought a spinet. He first was taught to play the lute by Lady Wright's butler, but later on selected a more distinguished teacher in the person of Berkenshaw.

The diary is full of anecdotes relating to his favourite occupation. Before going to church Pepys spends his morning fiddling. When walking or travelling he nearly always has a flageolet in his pocket, which he often uses, preferably in the neighbourhood of an echo. He cannot keep his enthusiasm to himself; all who surround him must learn music. His wife does not prove a very talented pupil, so he spends much time teaching his maid Mercer, who has an excellent voice, to the profound displeasure and jealousy of the former. Whenever he can seize an opportunity, in the garden, in his carriage

whilst waiting for Mrs Pepys, he makes Mercer sing. Mrs Knipps, probably his mistress, has a beautiful voice, and he is entranced by her singing, especially when she sings his own songs. At a later period he appoints a Roman Catholic, Morelli, to arrange his musical library.

Pepys was constantly in the company of musicians, meeting them at the taverns and coffee-houses, at Lord Sandwich's, and various private houses, or receiving them in his own house, attending every musical gathering he could go to. He was equally interested in the theory of music; we find him discoursing with Mr Hooke, Mr Hill, and at Lord Brouncker's with Sir R. Murray on the nature and laws of sound. He imagines a new theory " better than any which has so far been abroad," and reads Descartes' treatise.

As his social status became more prominent, Pepys was more and more regarded as a patron of musicians. Many years after the close of the Diary, Evelyn mentions musical gatherings at Pepys' house. In 1686-7 (19th April) he heard the famous singer Cifaccio sing " before a select number of particular persons whom Mr Pepys invited to his house; and this was obtained by particular favour and much difficulty, the Signor much disdaining to show his talent to any but princes."

Whether Pepys was a real musician or not is not easy to tell. Although proud of his musical compositions, limited to three or four songs, he can scarcely be regarded as a composer. As a lover of music and a critic, it is difficult to judge him. He apparently had a keen sense of rhythm and a delicate ear. He once declares he recognised a man whom he had never seen but only heard sing some years before. This is how he describes the effect produced on him by the wind music in the " Virgin Martyr ":

" But that which did please me beyond anything in the whole world was the wind music when the angel comes

down; which is so sweet that it ravished me, and indeed in a word did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife; that neither then, nor all the evening going home, and at home, I was able to think of anything but remained all night transported, so as I could not believe that ever any musique hath that real command over the soul of a man as this did upon me; and makes me resolve to practise wind musique and to make my wife do the like." *

Pepys' admiration or disapproval appears sometimes pretty sound, but it would not always be easy to explain certain outbursts of enthusiasm and certain dislikes, though in truth he is often under the influence of some very special and transitory impression caused by a fortuitous circumstance such as the presence of a lovely lady, or the objectionable bragging of a conceited musician.

Nevertheless the historian must credit Pepys with having been more interested than any in the intense musical elaboration of his time, and having encouraged the efforts made in all directions by enthusiastic innovators. He shows throughout the Diary that he is a great admirer of Captain Cooke and his pupils. He does not quite approve of Humfrey's style after his return from Paris, but this is because he is used to the old Italian manner acclimatised by Captain Cooke, and he pays due credit to the real value of the youthful composer. Maybe he is blinded by his dislike for Pelham's bragging.

The best representative of the musical public to which was partly due the development of Cooke's school, Samuel Pepys also offers the most complete type of the moral tendencies of the time, without that exaggeration which made them so objectionable in some characters. A Puritan in his early years, he appears only to

* 27th February, 1667-8.

have been attracted by the revolutionary side of such a movement. Under the influence of his surroundings, and perhaps of his French wife who, though a Protestant, had been educated for some years in a convent, his sympathy for Catholicism was ever on the increase. He often went to the Queen's chapel and enjoyed the music there, and he never quite cleared himself of the charge of performing Roman Catholic practices in private before his crucifix.

Pepys had that naturalness and indulgence which are to be found to-day in Latin countries. Whilst condemning the profligacy of the Court and striving to lead an honest life, he never thought he could become a saint, nor did he expect to find saintliness in others. He endeavoured as best he could to combat his too great addiction to the bottle and love for women. He feels deep remorse for having once been unfaithful to his wife; he sometimes takes the oath that he will abstain from strong drink for a fixed period. But he does not make life a tragedy; the periods of his oaths are of short duration, and he occasionally tries to evade them through some casuistical device. He goes to church to gaze at the fair members of the audience; he is quite happy when he has kissed a "good handsome wench," obtains a kiss or two from a widow who calls at his office on business, is always on the look-out for the King's most beautiful mistresses, is enraptured at the sight of the smocks and linen petticoats of My Lady Castlemaine. He believes life should be enjoyed: "I do indulge myself a little the more in pleasure knowing that this is the proper age of my life to do it." * He hopes to overcome his enemies "unless his too much addiction to pleasure undo him."

Pepys is by no means a beautiful character and could scarcely be proposed as an example, but he is a man, which is in itself a good quality. He is animated with

* 12th March, 1665-6.

that free, harmonious spirit of the Renaissance, which never ceased to expand in Latin countries, and which, although marred by remains of mediæval coarseness, succeeded in displaying something of its artistic elegance between the two Protestant revolutions. To this incidental outburst corresponds the best phase of the musical history of England.

We shall now see how such surroundings acted upon Captain Cooke and his pupils.

Little is known of Henry Cooke's life before the Restoration. He was a chorister at the Chapel Royal in the reign of Charles I. When the revolution broke out he sided with the Cavaliers, entered the army in 1642, and rose through lower ranks to that of captain.

Under the Commonwealth it seems he resumed his musical occupations and settled in London as a music teacher. He was already well known in 1653-4 as a singer. On the occasion of a visit he paid in October of that year to Evelyn, when he " entertained him with his voice and theorbo," the diarist remarks, " He is esteemed the best singer after the Italian manner of any in England." He again called on Evelyn on 2nd October, 1655-6, with a Mr Pierce, who became head of Magdalen College, and we are told that both were excellent musicians.

He was doubtless equally esteemed as a composer, for in Davenant's " First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House," and in the " Siege of Rhodes " which followed, he not only acted but took a prominent part in the composition of the music. Cooke's relations with the poet were apparently not always easy if we judge by the following note by Pepys, concerning which, however, allowance should be made for the singer's bragging disposition:

" Among other vanities, Captain Cooke had the arrogance to say that he was fain to direct Sir W. Davenant

in the breaking of his verses into such and such lengths, according as would be fit for musick, and how he used to swear at Davenant, and command him that way, when W. Davenant would be angry, and find fault with this or that note." *

When the Chapel Royal was re-established under Charles II., Captain Cooke, according to Clifford's "Divine Services," had already produced many anthems. He sang at the Chapel Royal very soon after the Restoration. On 12th August, 1659-60 Pepys already mentions "a brave anthem of Captain Cooke's which he himself sung, the King being well pleased with it." In January, 1660-61 he was appointed Master of the Children with a salary of forty pounds, and it is possible he had busied himself with recruiting his choir before that date.

Captain Cooke's fame before the Restoration is sufficient evidence that he was not selected by the King merely because he had been a devoted cavalier; as a matter of fact he had not shared the King's exile, and it is also well known how many loyal subjects were shamefully neglected by their Sovereign when fortune once more smiled upon him.

Captain Cooke was at once very much in favour at Court, for on 23rd April, 1661, all the special music performed at the Coronation Service was written by him. On 17th April, 1661, at the festival of the Knights of the Garter in St George's Chapel, Windsor, a hymn in four parts by Cooke was also performed instead of the usual litany. This was an imposing ceremony in the programme of which music figured as an important item.

Cooke soon became the recipient of fresh favours from the King. He was appointed Musician-in-Ordinary in 1663, and in the following year, "Composer in his

* 13th February, 1666.

Majesty's private musick for voyces." We are told he acted as steward at the feast of the Gentlemen of the Chapel in 1662. He appears to have been on good terms with the courtiers. In May, 1663, we find him playing at ninepins with Lord Sandwich against Pepys and Creed, who win a shilling.

Outside Court circles Cooke was also much in request. On the 28th of October, 1662, he became assistant to the Corporation of Musicians, and acted as Deputy-Marshal to Nicholas Laniere. On the 21st of June, 1670, he succeeded the latter as Marshal, and retired shortly before his death on the 24th of June, 1672.

Cooke often performed his own compositions and sang in private concerts, sometimes taking his boys with him, at Lord Sandwich's, Dr Clarke's, Dr Pierce's, Pepys', etc. When at dinner in an inn, or having a drink in a tavern, he sometimes gratified his friends with a few songs. On such an occasion Pepys declares he has "no doubt the best manner of singing in the world."

Cooke's success at Court and in circles that could appreciate him should partly stand as an excuse for his intolerable conceitedness, which finally made Pepys grow quite sick of him. But Pepys being himself scarcely free from the same failing may be guilty of some exaggeration, as another's conceit appears to no one so objectionable as to a conceited man.

Cooke was then much appreciated both as a singer and a composer. As a singer and lutanist his reputation was for a long time unequalled. Pepys, who much admired him, thus describes his singing: "He sings in a manner as to voice and manner the best I ever heard yet, and a strange mastery he hath in making of extraordinary surprising closes that are mighty pretty." *

Pepys was also alive to the singer's imperfections, and on the 14th of September, 1662, he writes: "I could

* 13th February, 1660.

discern Captain Cooke to overdo his part at singing, which I never did before."

As a composer Cooke's reputation appears to have been almost as great. The King's admiration was shared by many, and Pepys was very fond of his anthems, which he went to hear as often as possible and which made him forget the dry sermons they were preceded by.

Once when Cooke's bragging and criticisms of Davenant have greatly annoyed him, his comments still show how much he admired the composer. He finds a performance by Cooke and his boys is "most plainly below" the Italian singing he heard on the previous night; but he is much surprised, and adds:

"Besides overlooking the words he sung, I find them not at all humoured as they ought to be and as I believed he had done all he had set."

Nevertheless, Cooke seems to have been quickly forgotten as a composer. None of his works were printed except some short songs, and very few that we know of have been preserved in manuscript. Tudway included none of his master's anthems in his Harleian collection, and Burney speaks of him in the most disparaging terms. He declares of his church music:

"If we may judge of that by his few secular compositions dispersed in the collections of the time, he was little fitted for the high office to which he was appointed at the Restoration. In the second part of Playford's 'Musical Companion,' 1667, there are two or three of his songs which are dry, ill-accented, and equally destitute of melody and masterly harmony." *

Burney is very partial, and judges the composers of the Restoration under the influence of the prejudices of his time. We shall speak later of the few documents which we still possess.

Whatever may have been Cooke's merit as a composer,

* Vol. iii., p. 444.

he seems, judging by the results, to have been "fitted for his high office" as a teacher. The task was not an easy one. We are told by Matthew Locke that for above a year after the opening of his Majesty's Chapel, the orderers of the music were "necessitated to supply superior parts of the music with cornets and men's feigned voices, there being not one lad for all that time capable of singing his part readily." *

The conditions soon became better under Cooke's management. On the 23rd of February, 1660-1, Pepys mentions Cooke and *his boy*, apparently Pelham Humfreys, whom he heard make a trial of an anthem for the following day. By November, 1663, the first set was properly trained, and Cooke had already obtained remarkable results. On the 22nd Humfrey's first anthem, "Have Mercy upon Me, O God," was sung in his Majesty's Chapel, and Pepys remarks: "They say there are four or five of them that can do so much"; the other four being probably Smith, Blow, Michael Wise, and Tudway or Turner.

The Master of the Children taught his pupils not only singing but composition. We cannot directly judge of Cooke's ability as a teacher, but we may assume that such a mustering of promising musicians was not only the work of chance. Cooke must have been particularly careful in selecting them, and earnestly have devoted himself to their musical training. His personal influence, though not apparently recognised by his pupils, who never mention him, should not be overlooked. Cooke filled his office for twelve years until 1672, and the last of his known pupils, Henry Purcell, was entered in 1664.

Whatever may have been his special methods, he had an invaluable quality for a teacher, that of encouraging his pupils by taking much personal interest in their

* J. E. Matthew's "Popular History."

advance and even their general welfare. When they were not considered talented enough, after their voices were broken, to be kept at the Chapel Royal as supernumeraries and prepare for a musical career, it seems their teacher did not forsake them. In 1664 (31st May) we see him endeavouring to find a suitable position for one of his boys, Tom Edwards. He thinks of Pepys, who he knows is a musical man, and after a conversation with him at Lord Sandwich's leaves him under the impression that "if he find fit to keep a boy at all he had as good be supplied with one from Captain Cooke as anybody." Pepys soon decides that he does want a servant, and in August Cooke sends him Tom with a letter of introduction. When he meets the diarist shortly afterwards, he highly recommends Tom, giving Pepys "great hopes of the boy which pleases him." A few days later Tom enters Pepys' service, "who proposes to make a clerk of him." But Cooke's solicitude does not end there. Tom must have complained to his singing master, for on the 10th April of the following year we read this amusing entry:

"Here Captain Cooke met me and did seem discontented about my boy Tom's having no time to mind his singing nor lute, which I answered him fully in that he desired me that I would baste his coate."

We should add on behalf of the diarist that he was far from indifferent to the boy's musical disposition, and he denied neither Tom nor Mercer a pastime he himself was so fond of.

Captain Cooke also offered his pupils many opportunities to make themselves known. We have seen how he had an anthem sung which had been written by his first pupil. Wood's assertion, reproduced by many others, that he died of grief at Humfrey's success, is questionable. That he was a very conceited man there is no doubt; but, judging by the interest he took in his pupils, his jealousy

could scarcely be as great as we are told, and if there was any bitterness between them, Humfrey's irreverential disposition may have been partly responsible for it. However this may be, Cooke was proud of his choir boys and often took them with him to private concerts. We meet them at Lord Sandwich's, practising his lordship's anthem for the King's Chapel, and subsequently entertaining him with Italian songs (21st December, 1663). We also find them at Dr Clarke's, when they sing after a bad dinner. Cooke even brings two of them whose voices are broken to Pepys' house, and a song in three parts which they sing with Tom, whose voice is also broken, painfully affects the nerves of the amateur musician despite their " extraordinary skill."

Of the group of choir boys thus diligently trained by the fashionable singer, a number of names have survived which will amply suffice to characterise the general spirit of the school. These are:

Pelham Humfrey, John Blow, Robert Smith, Michael Wise, Thomas Tudway, William Turner, Sampson Estwick, Henry Hall, and Henry Purcell. Although of very unequal worth they can all contribute something towards the rebuilding of that interesting little group.

We have little information concerning their earlier years, and the dates of their births are often conjectural. Pelham Humfrey (this spelling of his name was adopted by himself) was born in 1647 and is said to have been a nephew of Bradshaw's sword-bearer, Colonel John Humfrey. John Blow was one year younger and apparently came to the Chapel Royal very soon after Humfrey. Tudway was born in 1650 and Michael Wise was probably the eldest of the set, being born in Wiltshire towards 1646. Sampson Estwick is said to belong to what Tudway calls the second set, and the approximate date of his birth is

given as 1657. Tudway also includes William Turner in the second set; he was the son of Charles Turner, a cook of Pembroke College; he was born in 1651 and was already chorister at Oxford, Christ Church, under E. Lowe, when he was called to the Chapel Royal. Henry Hall, born about 1655, was also one of the younger choristers, and the list closes with little Henry Purcell, born in 1658, who entered the Chapel Royal at the age of six in 1664. He was the son of a then celebrated musician, Master of the Children of Westminster Abbey, who according to "Pepys' Diary" was personally acquainted with Captain Cooke; Purcell's father died the same year Purcell entered the Chapel Royal, and the early start of the choir boy was no doubt due to his uncle, Thomas Purcell, also a musician, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal and one of the King's musicians, who adopted him and had a share in his musical education.

No dates are obtainable concerning Robert Smith, and nowhere have we been able to find any biographical notice. We can only form conjectures founded on the few works of the time, which are attributed to him. He must have belonged to the first set and was apparently a promising pupil. For in Clifford's "Divine Services," published in 1664, we find the words of five anthems set to music by "Robert Smith one of the children," together with those of five other anthems by Humfrey and only two by Blow. Three "courantes" by Smith were published in 1673 in Locke's "Melothesia." His songs and dialogues, partly taken from comedies, appear in the first book of the second part of Playford's "Choice Collections of Airs" (1676). After this nothing is to be found; it is therefore possible that he died young, and if he was so entirely forgotten it was perhaps that after his first anthems he wrote no more sacred music.

The little group formed by these boys round Captain Henry Cooke was a living school, wherein eagerness to

learn was backed up by true comradeship, æsthetic enthusiasm by those social feelings which are all the more intense and stimulating as they are limited to a smaller body of fellow-workers.

In 1664 Humfrey, Blow, and their younger fellow-student Turner composed together the anthem known as the "Club Anthem" apparently for no other purpose than to celebrate their friendship. The reason given by Tudway that it was intended to commemorate a naval victory by the Duke of York over the Dutch, is contradicted by chronology, there having been no such victory before 1665, when Humfrey was abroad. In this curious anthem Humfrey, who was evidently the leader of the trio, wrote the first part, and Blow the concluding verse and chorus, whilst their junior was content with the honour of inserting a plain bass solo.

It does not appear that there was much jealousy between the choristers. As soon as Purcell's superior talent was made manifest, it was recognised by all. In the prefaces to the "Orpheus Britannicus" and the "Amphion Anglicus" Henry Hall, who was as much a poet as a musician, wrote enthusiastic lines in honour of Purcell and Blow, inspired both by friendship and admiration. Of the latter he says:

"We all with wonder view
Whatever art with ordered notes can do,
Corelli's heights, with great Bassanio's too;
And Britain's Orpheus learned his art from you.
. . . . . .
You first our modern music did refine
Rugged and rough like metal in the mine,
You purged the dross and stamped it into coin.
How much we owe to that harmonious quill
That first reformed and is our standard still!
. . . . . .
Your temper's easy as the airs you make
. . . . . .
For scarce our Isle a tuneful bard can show
But first or last has been inspired by you."

Tudway also inserts in his collection and highly recommends many of his fellow-students' anthems.

The most sympathetic character as far as relations with fellow-students and pupils are concerned was John Blow. He generously resigned to Purcell his appointment as organist at Westminster Abbey, and in 1693 we again see him resign his post as Master of the Choristers at St Paul's Cathedral in favour of a later pupil, Jeremiah Clarke.

This happy family was also a merry one. Cooke's choristers were permeated with the spirit of the time. They all enjoyed a good drink and a good laugh together. Judging from the words of many catches and ribald songs they set music to, they could scarcely have been freer from puritanic tendencies. Blow, who according to Hawkins was in his later years "remarkable for a gravity and decency in his deportment suited to his station," did not object to setting music to some of the crudest of these unrefined productions.

Tudway excelled in a special accomplishment which may become a veritable calamity for a man's friends. He was an inveterate punster, and the dire malady clung to him throughout his long life. He first transferred the scene of his triumphs to Lord Oxford's house where he used to meet in merry company with Prior, Sir J. Thornhill, Christian the engraver, Bridgman the gardener, and others. Burney says that at Cambridge he was longer remembered as a punster than as a musician. He reports two of his celebrated puns. Once complaining of the irregularity with which he was paid for his various offices at Cambridge, he said, "The Chancellor rides us all without a bit in our mouths." "Being dangerously ill of quinsy and unable for some time to swallow either food or medicines, the physician who attended him, after long debates and difficulties, at length, turning to Mrs Tudway, says: 'Courage, Madame, the Doctor will get up May-hill

yet, he has been able to swallow some nourishment.' The Doctor cries out: ' Don't mind him, my dear, one *swallow* makes no summer.' "

He was so incorrigible that in 1706 he was degraded of all his degrees, deprived of his professorship at Cambridge, and of three organists' posts, for a pun made at the expense of the authorities. He was only reinstated in all his honours and appointments after complete submission and retractation in Regent House in the following year.

Michael Wise was one of the most undisciplined of the set. Much appreciated for his lively character and conviviality, he was afflicted with a very uncertain temper, which became the cause of his premature death. One night at Salisbury he quarrelled with his wife, rushed out of the house in a passion, and, being stopped by the watchman, vented his anger upon him; the watchman returned his assaults by a blow on the head with a bill which fractured his skull and killed him.

Even Sampson Estwick who became a worthy clergyman was affected by his fellow-students' conviviality, and when at Oxford appears to have transferred it to the meetings in Dean Aldrich's house where the bottle was in high esteem.

The youngest of the group, Henry Purcell, who profited so much by his elders' works, was also imbued with their free, sociable spirit, and it seems that in this respect as well as in respect of his art, he outdid them all. Slanderous anecdotes have been told concerning his morals, but there is little doubt that he was fond of merry-making, and spent many a night in gay company.

Another moral characteristic of the school was conceitedness, with of course some exceptions, the most remarkable for his modesty being Purcell. As we have seen, their master could scarcely inspire his pupils with feelings of humility, but it should be said on his and their behalf that their common failing was and is still shared by many

musicians, and at that time specially pointed to the important position music had conquered in social life.

Pepys, who could not stand his favourite sin in others, has left us an amusing picture of Pelham Humfrey on his return from Paris:

"Calling at my mercer's and tailor's, and there find as I expected Mr Caesar with little Pelham Humfreys, lately returned from France, and is an absolute Monsieur, as full of form and confidence and vanity, and disparages everything and everybody's skill but his own. The truth is everybody says he is very able, but to hear how he laughs at all the King's music here, as Blagrave and others, that they cannot keep time, nor understand anything; and that Grebus, the Frenchman, the King's Master of the Music, how he understands nothing, nor can play on any instrument, and so cannot compose; and that he will give him a lift out of his place; and that he and the King are mighty great, and that he hath already spoke to the King of Grebus, would make a man p——. I had a good dinner for them as a venison pasty, and some fowl, and after dinner we did play, he on the theorbo, Mr Caesar on his French lute, and I on the viol, but made but mean music, nor do I see that this Frenchman do so much wonders on the theorbo, but without question he is a good musician, but his vanity do offend me." *

Michael Wise was not less presuming. Hawkins relates that in a progress made by Charles II. Michael Wise, being appointed the King's organist *pro tempore*, claimed the right to play in whatsoever church the King stopped at, and in one church, no doubt finding the sermon too long, he began his voluntary before the preacher had finished.

Blow's "decency" did not resist the evil suggestions of this demon of vanity, who is so fond of artists. Having written an anthem for James II., the King was pleased

* 15th November, 1666.

with his work, and after service sent Father Petre to express his approval. Unfortunately the priest added, under his own responsibility, that he himself found the anthem too long. "That is the opinion of one fool, I heed it not," retorted Blow, and had it not been for the troubles of the Revolution of 1688, which soon followed, Blow would have lost his appointment, the irate priest having persuaded the King to remove him from office.

We now have a glimpse of the psychology of the school, with its good and bad tendencies. Coupled with the view of its social surroundings, this will help us to understand the conditions under which it developed. In fine it was an open-minded, gay, sociable group of musicians, in an open-minded, gay, music-loving society.

What became of them after the few years of eager work and merry-making they spent together?

The careers of several were regrettably short. Poor Humfrey died at the age of twenty-seven in 1674, and it may be questioned what so promising a genius might have achieved, had he been permitted to reach the full development of his powers. Michael Wise was forty-one when he died in 1687, in the manner we have described. But the Benjamin of the school, Henry Purcell, did not even attain that age, dying in his thirty-eighth year in 1695.

The others lived to see the eighteenth century. Blow died last of the three older boys, in 1708, preceded by one year by Henry Hall. Tudway went on collecting anthems and punning until 1726. Estwick and Turner both died in 1729, the latter at the venerable age of eighty-eight, four days after his wife Elizabeth, who had lived with him for nearly seventy years.

The careers of our musicians were pursued under somewhat different conditions, which greatly affected their work.

As was then and is still to some extent in England the

general necessity, all had to appeal to the Church for a regular appointment, consistent with their musical disposition and ability.

Tudway spent the greater part of his life at Cambridge. Tenor at St George's, Windsor, in 1664, organist in the King's College, Cambridge, and instructor of its choristers (1679-80), he finally was appointed Professor of Music at Cambridge, a post which he held whilst acting as organist in three different churches. Henry Hall went to Exeter Cathedral, where he became lay vicar and organist in 1674, and afterwards to Hereford Cathedral, where he was appointed vicar choral in 1679, and finally organist in 1688. Sampson Estwick remained in London. He entered the choir of St Paul's Cathedral, of which he became superintendent in 1698.

These three were more directly connected with ecclesiastical life than their elders. Tudway's professorship directed his work churchwards, and he was entrusted by Lord Oxford with the laborious task of collecting the best anthems down to his time, a work on which he spent the greater part of his activity, and which entitles him to our gratitude. Henry Hall is said to have taken deacon's orders in 1698, and Sampson Estwick was entirely incorporated with the Anglican clergy. Sacrist at St Paul's in 1698, Vicar at St Helen's, Bishopsgate, in 1701, he became Rector of St Michael's, Queenhithe, in 1712, whilst continuing to discharge his choral duties. In addition to the special conditions created by their careers, these men came under the influence of other musical surroundings than those they had met with at Whitehall; thus Sampson Estwick may be regarded to some extent as a disciple of Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church, who had the management of the choir. Still they belong to the school, for in spite of foreign influences they show marked traces of their early training.

The other members of the school kept in direct touch

with Whitehall and with one another. They were thus enabled to preserve and develop the tendencies already so deeply rooted, thanks to the remarkable movement started at the time of the Restoration. Humfrey, Turner, Blow, Wise were all four appointed Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal in 1666, 1669, 1673, and 1675 respectively. Before his appointment Turner was counter-tenor at Lincoln Cathedral, afterwards becoming vicar choral of St Paul's, and lay vicar of Westminster Abbey. Michael Wise was first lay clerk at St George's, Windsor (1663), then organist and master of the choristers at Salisbury Cathedral (1668). He was finally appointed almoner and master of the boys at St Paul's Cathedral.

Humfrey and Blow may be regarded as having continued still more completely the work started by Captain Cooke. Their careers, as his was, are inseparably blended with the life of the Chapel Royal choir, having both succeeded their teacher as master of the boys. Humfrey was immediately appointed after Cooke's death in 1672, and at the close of his short career, Blow succeeded him in 1674.

Humfrey became very soon a favourite with Charles II. We have said how the King was impressed by his first anthem written at the age of seventeen. Shortly afterwards he sent him to study for three years in France and Italy, defraying the expenses of his journeys with subsidies from the secret service funds amounting to four hundred and fifty pounds. He was appointed Gentleman of the Chapel Royal whilst still away, and was sworn into office on his return some months later (26th October, 1667). To his post of master of the children was added in 1673 that of composer-in-ordinary to his Majesty. The Corporation of Musicians had elected him annual warden in the precedng year.

Blow's talents were also duly recognised. In 1669 he was appointed organist at Westminster, a post he resigned

to Purcell in 1680. He became organist at the Chapel Royal in 1676, a member of the royal band in 1685, and composer to James II. He succeeded Michael Wise as almoner and master of the choristers at St Paul's Cathedral from 1687 to 1693. After certain changes at the Chapel Royal in 1699 he was again appointed composer. Blow had not only studied under Captain Cooke; after his voice was broken he had also had Hingiston and Gibbons as teachers. But such influences interfered little with the general direction of the musician's development which he owed to his first master.

Purcell's life is well known; and it will suffice here to recall his special connection with the school. His work is its most complete product. Purcell was successively trained by Cooke, Humfrey, and Blow, who all three, it seems, had a keen sense of his rising powers, and strove to husband them with the greatest care. It is also noteworthy that in addition to his appointments as organist, he continually worked for the theatre which enabled him freely to cultivate the dramatic tendencies he owed to the school.

CHAPTER II

FORMATION AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCHOOL

If we would judge our school of musicians we should take into account the stage of the musical evolution then attained.

It was a transitional period. Music was only then passing from the Church to the stage and concert-hall, from counterpoint to modern harmony. In this work England had already had some share; songs and madrigals, gigs and country-dances had been sufficiently cultivated to foreshadow however dimly the rise of a secular art. But in the course of the century Italy and then France had taken the lead. This was the time of Carissimi, Alessandro Scarlatti, and Lulli.

The recitative created at the close of the sixteenth century by Conte di Verio's little band of innovators was consecrated by varied attempts covering some sixty years. Flowing melody, rehabilitated by Cavalli, had now received its definite form, developing into the "aria." Contrapuntal polyphony, momentarily discarded owing to the natural subversiveness of progressive changes, was reintroduced by Scarlatti, though freed from the irksome rigidity of its rules which Monteverde had overcome. In Paris Lulli had already started on his brilliant career, further elaborating the dramatic music created by his fellow-countrymen, and bringing it under the characteristic influence of French sociability.

This intense elaboration was attended with the growth of the opera. At the time of the English Restoration it already existed, with some of its essential constituents. Peri's " Dafne " was performed as far back as 1597; his " Euridice " in 1600. The first public opera-house had played Ferrari's " Andromeda " in 1637, and there were many lyric theatres in Venice. In France Cambert's first attempts took place in 1659 and 1669. England enthusiastically embraced the new movement. English opera originated in the masque. Such entertainments wherein music played a rather subordinate part were transformed by Italian influence. In 1617 Ben Jonson's masque, " Lovers Made Men," was acted at Lord Haye's house with music according to the " stilo recitativo " by Nicholas Laniere, who sang in the play and himself painted the scenery. Under the Commonwealth was performed what may be termed the first public opera, Davenant's " Siege of Rhodes," which Captain Cooke contributed to, together with Henry Lawes, Charles Coleman, George Hudson, and Matthew Locke. The composers of the Restoration had thus at their disposal a certain amount of materials and did not lack models.

In order to limit still more precisely the corresponding stage of the history of music, we should note the important fact that when our school set to work neither Alessandro Scarlatti nor Lulli had yet produced their operatic works. Lulli's " Alceste " was performed in 1674, the year Humfrey died, and Scarlatti's " Equivoci nel Sembiante " in 1679.

The movement in which our school was engaged, and which it actively contributed to, may be described as a movement towards completeness. Sacred music was incomplete both as to the special means it adopted and the use it made of its limited resources.

Music proceeds from singing and dancing, and can reach its full expansion only when its two elements are

freely made use of and narrowly combined. Monotheism suppressed one-half of this art by excluding dances in conformity with the general nature of its doctrine. The Christian religion, being individual in spirit, never embraced social life except indirectly, thanks to the remarkable though incoherent adaptations of the Catholic priesthood endeavouring to make it serve social purposes. The Church, therefore, after a few isolated and fruitless attempts, banished dancing, which is but an idealisation of social life. Christian polyphony, whether vocal or instrumental, only represents choirs of bodiless angels exempt from labour and co-operation.

Although thus reduced to one-half, Christian music might still have recovered part of its lost elements had not the resources of choral and wind music been limited by the doctrine. Both melody and harmony were kept as simple, regular, and abstract as possible, in accordance with a system of life which endeavoured to stifle all passion, all imagination, and reduce at the same time for each soul the importance of collective existence. The spirit of the Gregorian chant remained prevalent in melody, and in the parallel development of different melodies the composer abstained from isolating one part, from laying stress on the rhythm by a distinct accompaniment, from accumulating chords and fixing the attention on dissonances; in other words, from anything that could arouse the passions.

Such restrictions imposed upon Christian music were emphasised by the discredit of string instruments, especially of the lute family. Singing, indeed, is completed by wind music; dancing specially calls for the use of strings as better suited to express the rapid movements of the dancers and clearly mark the rhythm. Moreover, the versatility of these instruments, and their heart-searching tone, specially fit them for the expression of mirth as well as for the stirring up of all passions.

Such fetters could only be broken through when, thanks to the decay of monotheism, man was revealed once more to man with all the dramatic beauty of individual passions and the unparalleled grandeur of social life. The art of music progressed rapidly when musicians, no longer monopolised by a discredited Church, felt free to give expression to the whole scale of human feelings, and devoted their genius and talent to the evocation and idealisation of real life in all its manifestations, social as well as individual.

The part played by Cooke and his pupils is specially characterised by two important innovations: they introduced the spirit and methods of secular music into the church, and at the same time contributed to the growth of the opera.

The former attempt was mainly due to Charles II., who had brought over the idea from the court of Lewis XIV. Tudway makes him responsible for this innovation and excuses rather than praises him—

"The standard of church music begun with Mr Gallis and Mr Bird, etc., was continued for some years after the Restoration, and all composers conformed themselves to the pattern which was set by them. His Majesty, who was a brisk and airy Prince, coming to the Crown in the flower and vigour of his age, was soon, I may say, tyred with the grave and solemn way, and ordered the composers of his Chapel to add symphonies, etc., with instruments, to their anthems, and thereupon established a select number of his private music to play the symphonies and ritornellos which he had appointed.

"The King did not intend by this innovation to alter anything of the established way. He only appointed this to be done when he came himself to the Chapel, which was only upon Sundays in the morning, on the great festivals and days of offerings. The old masters of

music, viz. Dr Childe, Dr Gibbons, Mr Lowe, etc., organists to his Majesty, hardly knew how to comport themselves with these new-fangled ways, but proceeded in their compositions according to the old style, and therefore there are only some services and full anthems of theirs to be found.

"In about four or five years' time some of the forwardest and brightest children of the Chapel, as Mr Humfreys, Mr Blow, etc., began to be masters of a faculty in composing. This his Majesty greatly encouraged by indulging their youthful fancys, so that every month at least, and afterwards oftener, they produced something new of this kind. In a few years more several others educated in the Chapel produced their compositions in this style, for otherwise it was in vain to hope to please his Majesty." *

Captain Cooke could scarcely be included amongst those old masters who did not know "how to comport themselves." The only anthem of his we have been able to examine has, it is true, no symphonies, but the string parts may have been left out or the anthem written before the Restoration. On the other hand, Pepys positively states that the first time string music was introduced the anthem was by Cooke. Moreover, it is not surprising that the dramatic spirit of the anthems should have been emphasised by a man who took the lead in fostering the other form of musical emancipation we have mentioned, by contributing to the first operatic performances.

Let us examine more closely the nature of these two innovations.

The Protestant anthem, as treated by the composers of the Restoration, was to some extent an introduction to

* B. M., Tudway, "Harleian Collection," Vol. iii.

dramatic music. The substitution of English for Latin words was in itself a first step towards the secularisation of music. Again Protestantism permitted a freer choice of the passages from the Bible which could thus be partly subordinated to dramatic purposes. Whether the selection was entrusted to the composers themselves or proposed by the clergy, the general tendency encouraged by the King was more dramatic than theological. The vague spiritualism of the Psalms or the Book of Job is, of course, not always very inspiring for a composer, nor very easy to turn into a musical drama. But there are a good many psalms or chapters to choose from, and in each only certain verses are selected; we even see anthems which are formed of verses taken from different passages. Moreover, the profuse imagery of Hebrew literature could be turned to account by composers who were more intent on interpreting the simile itself than the theological aspirations it was meant to express. This is how the composers of the Restoration, whilst endeavouring to suit their music to the words, often drifted very far away from the spirit of religious music. Hence the incongruity of such compositions which, unfortunately, can be appreciated neither as secular nor as sacred.

Another disadvantage proceeded from the nature of the Hebrew books generally used for church services. The style of these books, when it overcomes the abstraction of monotheism, is more physical than human, resorts more to pictures of the material world than to the passions of the human heart, so that the composers were encouraged to develop their descriptive rather than their dramatic propensities. Besides these works we also find anthems which are written in verse and therefore free from the special form of Hebrew literature, but they are none the less under the influence of theologism.

However unfavourable and refractory the material, the writers of anthems partially succeeded in making it serve their purpose, and we find some very beautiful recitatives and choruses.

These anthems originally consisted of passages of Scripture declaimed by solo voices, interspersed with short and simple choruses. It was in these passages that Captain Cooke, doubtlessly one of the first, introduced the spirit of the new style. This was, as we have seen, soon completed by an opening symphony and ritornellos between the verses performed by strings. Gradually these compositions became more complex and elaborate. Declamatory solos were followed by duets and trios, solo voices being combined in declamatory passages, and the choruses in four or five parts were extended, a great effort being made to secure the independence of the respective voices, and produce grand dramatic effects.

The anthem was not only an exercise for the histrionic tendencies of the school. As it grows we see certain elements of regularity and symmetry introduced. Partly under French influence, chiefly promoted by Humfrey, a certain tunefulness and clearness in the structure modifies the earlier declamatory style. The rhythm is more marked and regular. The repetition of short passages inspired by the aria, the reiteration by the chorus of short phrases of the solo, show that an effort was made towards unity and beauty of design.

The Restoration anthem thus contains most of the elements which we find in our composers' secular music, including their most extensive and elaborate works. As they devoted to this sort of music their first efforts, and throughout their life much of their time and energy, it greatly influenced their secular music. In one sense, considering the comparative freedom with which they handled their material, it was a useful preparation, but it

naturally hindered them from carrying out to the full extent of their ability a work for which they were better suited.

The other great stimulus which contributed to the emancipation of music in England was the introduction of the Italian opera. In May, 1656, Captain Henry Cooke, with H. Lawes, Coleman, and Hudson, contributed to the entertainment by Davenant called, "The First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House." We are told this work was to serve as an experiment to ascertain whether a musical play would be acceptable to the Roundhead authorities. We can scarcely be surprised that it should have found little favour with the public, when we read the account of the performance.

Two long discourses for and against theatrical entertainments, and two others concerning the comparative advantages of life in Paris and London—all this declaimed after the manner of the ancients, and interspersed with instrumental music and songs—such was the quaint and tedious performance which Davenant's wit could hardly make attractive. The first two discourses were delivered by Diogenes and Aristophanes "sitting in two guilded rostra, in habits agreeable to their country and professions." Either discourse was preceded by a "consort of musick befitting the sullen disposition" of the former, and the "pleasant disposition" of the latter. The other two discourses were also declaimed from the gilded rostra by a Parisian and a Londoner "in the livery robes of both cities." The former's speech was preceded by a concert "after the French composition," and the latter by a concert "imitating the waites of London."

It appears that the result of this performance was considered satisfactory so far as the authorities were concerned, and a few months later the "Siege of Rhodes"

was acted. Though more interesting than the " First Day's Entertainment," it is not a very soul-stirring drama.

Solyman is besieging the town of Rhodes, which is defended by the Christian troops under the command of an Admiral and Villerius. Amongst these is the young prince, Alphonso, who rejects the advice of the old chiefs to flee from the city and join his newly wedded wife, Ianthe, in Sicily. Ianthe is as brave as her husband, and on hearing of the fate of the besieged, leaves Sicily with two vessels to revictual them. She is captured by the Turkish chief Mustapha, who chivalrously swears that none but her husband will remove her veil. Solyman, wishing to exceed his bashaw's generosity, allows her to enter Rhodes with her two vessels and return to Sicily unmolested with her husband. They both decline to forsake their fellow-sufferers, and Solyman orders the city to be stormed, at the same time forbidding his soldiers to touch Alphonso and his wife. But after a quarrel with Ianthe, to whom he discloses his jealous suspicions, the young prince so vigorously seeks death in the battle that he assures the victory of the besieged.

On this rather quaint plot was built an opera after the Italian manner with as elaborate a scenery as circumstances would allow. The room was not over-spacious, judging by the author's lamentations:

" It has often been wisht that our scenes (we having obliged ourselves to the variety of five changes according to the Ancient Dramatick distinctions made for time) had not been confined to eleven foot in hight and about fifteen in depth, including the places of passage reserved for the musick. This is so narrow an allowance for the Fleet of Solyman the Magnificent, his army, the Island of Rhodes, and the varieties attending the Siege of the City, that I fear you will think we invite you to such a contracted trifle as that of the Cæsars carv'd upon a Nut,"

Despite such limited means, great pains were taken with the decorations. The " ornament encompassing the scene " consisted of " several rustic columns bearing a large frieze enriched by a crimson drapery," in the middle of which was written " Rhodes." On the frieze could also be seen the various military ensigns of the nations that were famous for the defence of the island. For the first " entry " the curtain was drawn up on the view of a maritime coast " full of rocks, cliffs, and verdures," and in the distance " the true prospect of the City of Rhodes," " with so much view of the gardens and hills about it as the narrowness of the room could allow the scene." At the horizon appeared the Turkish fleet making towards a promontory some four miles distant from the town. This seems very ambitious, and the execution of so vast a scheme must have been rather imperfect. Still the scenes were shifted several times, representing now a tent, now the interior of the besieged town, now a mountain whereon a castle was being built.

It is regrettable that no trace of the music can be found. It consisted of endless dialogues and monologues all in the recitative style, each act being preceded by a symphony, and ending with a chorus of women or soldiers. Although the principal characters were made to express noble and generous sentiments, there was nothing very tragic in the play, and the choruses were distinctly comic. Thus the women sang:

" Let us live, live, live, for being dead
The pretty spots
Ribbands and knots
No lady wears upon her head
In the cold, cold bed of honour."

And again:

" Ye wives all that are or wives that would be,
Unlearn all ye learnt here of one another,
And all ye have learnt of an aunt or a mother."

The final chorus of soldiers contains no very great

thoughts to celebrate the Christians' victory. It lays stress on the difference between the beverages of the Christians and of the Turks:

"Whilst we drink good wine and you but coffee"

a difference which seems to play a not unimportant part in the opera.

Even the more serious passages are sometimes involuntarily comic, and it is not easy to imagine how Alphonso sang of "the wondrous Turkish chastity."

But this is a libretto, and it were unfair to judge it apart from the music, for it seems that words were often sacrificed for the tune. The author apologises for the irregular lines he was compelled to write:

"When you are an Auditor you will find that in this I rather deserve approbation than need excuse, for frequent alterations of measure (which cannot be so unpleasant to him that reads as troublesome to him that writes) are necessary to Recitative Musick for variation of Ayres."

This seems to be an echo of the disputes between author and composer recorded by Pepys, and, in fact, the lines in the two acts composed by Cooke are particularly rugged.

The part entrusted to our composer is the most virile and warlike of the play; the second and third acts are indeed mainly devoted to the dialogues and monologues of the chiefs, of the Admiral, Villerius, and more especially Solyman, who is the most interesting character, and whose part was acted by Cooke himself. They aim at setting forth the passionate and generous character of the Sultan, and contain the description of a battle:

"How bravely fought the fiery French,
Their bulwark being stormed," etc.

We must give up trying to revive more fully this first public opera in England, but we may form, by what

little is left of it, some idea of the general spirit and aims of the innovators.

The influence of these two movements, the secularisation of the Protestant anthem and the introduction of the Italian opera, is noticeable throughout the work of the school.

Its chief characteristic shown by the secular as well as by the sacred music is a constant effort towards perfect expression, specially manifested in vocal music by the predominance of the recitative. With such an object in view the composers made use of all the resources offered by the then more complete system available.

First, rhythm had become more flexible, thanks to the development of dance music and its combination with singing. Within each foot words by themselves limit variety to various arrangements of longs and shorts, the ratio 1:2 being the only ratio usually suited to language. Dancing makes greater variety possible, the ratio 1:3 being very natural. When we compare the songs of the Restoration with earlier melodies we immediately notice in the former the preponderance of the form

Our school even uses and abuses in singing the inverse form

What would seem to-day suited to a comic song was then often used for expressing grief; Blow's Scotch snap is generally a sob. Still greater variety was sought by further dividing the fundamental ratio, thus obtaining many changes in velocity. Counter-measure was also often resorted to.

This great variety of rhythm promoted by the school is all the more noticeable in English as the tonic accent, being very marked, tends to force itself upon the singer,

and it was probably more difficult in England to overcome the tyranny of the word than in Latin countries where the accent is more easily convertible into a mere inflection of the voice. Our school, being used to dance-music and strings, subordinated the words to the tune when this was favourable to expression. Pepys protested against this emancipation and reproached Humfrey for not writing vocal music but " instrumental music for the voice."

Variety was extended to time itself. We often find a somewhat disorderly succession of such times as 6-8, 9-8, 12-8, concealed by modern notation, but clearly set forth in old works by bars of different lengths.

Furthermore, our authors sometimes combine duple and triple time, adopting a system which Lulli greatly exaggerated in his operas. Duple time was considered more serious, passionate, and dramatic; triple time, more graceful, languid, and melancholy. Such arrangements may lead to happy contrasts, but occasionally our composers make the two metric forms follow each other in such rapid succession that the rhythm disappears altogether. It is a device which should be cautiously and exceptionally resorted to, especially in vocal music.

The dramatic propensities of the school are still better shown by their treatment of harmony. Our composers were acquainted with the art of counterpoint; both Humfrey and Blow show a good deal of technical knowledge and ingeniousness. But by a natural reaction against the rigidness of the old schools they are not afraid of violating certain rules or introducing harsh discords; and it has been remarked that they were over-fond of the false fifth. Hence those " crudities " which offended Burney. But if some of these may be said to be unwarranted, they are sometimes happily contrived, and despite some errors such attempts were invaluable

for the emancipation of music. In order fully to understand and appreciate their efforts, it should not be forgotten that our authors were working on a rather indefinite and transitory system. A great variety of sounds is necessary to express all our emotions, but owing to the highly decorative character of an art wherefrom abstract ideas and concrete images are practically excluded, such variety should always rest on some very simple system ever perceptible under the most complex combinations of sounds. The problem has been solved by the modern conception of modulation as fixed by the masters of the eighteenth century. The diatonic scale was preserved as far as possible in its simplicity, accidentals being habitually regarded as merely introducing a new key, the general rule being, after a number of modulations, gradually to come back to the original key. Dramatic expression may then be secured by more or less direct modulations and unity preserved by adequately showing the nature of the change.

The system was not so definite in our composers' time; modulation was usually limited to a few passing alterations.

There was, moreover, a tendency directly to seek variety in the diatonic scale. Hence a marked preference for the minor key, the ascending and descending scales being different. Whether gay or sad Humfrey's music is very seldom written in the major key, and Purcell was quite conscious of the reason of such preference. Stafford Smith in his "Collection of English Songs" (1779) says:

"Mr Purcell has been heard to declare more than once that the variety which the minor key is capable of affording by the change of sounds in the ascending and descending scales induced him so frequently to give it preference."

It is important in playing or singing these old pieces

that we should not overlook such a conception. For us the minor key is generally associated with sadness, so that we are often disconcerted by the author's choice, and the effect produced on us is quite different from the impression it was intended to convey. Although the minor key is apparently better suited to its modern destination, its effect is mainly due to habit. If we were more used to the minor key the major key would undoubtedly appear far less frank and serene than it does to-day. It would probably not seem melancholy like the minor key, but would convey an impression of unrest and uneasiness. Our composers went further still in their effort to complicate the scale. They frequently substituted a major for a minor third or vice versa, sometimes to very good effect. In fine they forestalled, sometimes in a remarkable way, the more realistic tendencies of modern music; but composers now know better how to combine them with those gradual and simple modulations which, under the greatest variety, enable us to perceive the unity of the whole.

Nevertheless our school, whilst always intent on expression, did not discard certain elements of regularity and symmetry which are necessary to art.

In instrumental music they are often guided by the regular framework offered by various dances. We shall also see this tendency towards unity specially manifested by a curious old device—the "ground." Their songs often take the form of the Italian aria, then in high esteem, with the inevitable repetition of one part marked by the *da capo*. They can imagine a graceful flowing melody, but it is noticeable that in many cases the element of regularity lies rather in the rhythm than in the design of the phrase, which points to the influence of dance-music. Better still, dance-tunes are sometimes introduced into songs. Thus one of Blow's most graceful ditties, "It is not that I Love you Less," is a minuet.

Humfrey's song, "The Days are all at Loyal Strife," in an ode to the King is a gavotte.

In choruses some sort of plan is introduced by the repetition of phrases or parts of phrases made for such a purpose more definite and easy to remember.

Some of our composers also adopted those ornamental devices, grace-notes, and flourishes which Italians were so fond of, but the English school endeavoured rather to turn these ornaments to account for dramatic purposes.

In singing, flourishes may often be regarded as a substitute for the instrumental accompaniment, which was then in a very rudimentary state. Musicians strove to do with the voice what was afterwards entrusted to the orchestra, and such devices have doubtless been of use in the development of instrumental music. To the poet such flourishes seem unnatural, but our school was always ready to subordinate poetry to music.

In the songs of the Restoration, flourishes are not left to the singer's individual fancy; they form an integral part of the composition, and are often to be found in duets, trios, choruses, where they give rise to the most intricate combinations. They usually have a definite purpose, expressing as a rule festive feelings, but also accompanying a threat, a cry of pain, or translating hesitation and fear. In Blow's works we hardly ever come across words such as glory, glorious, triumph, triumphant, laugh, joy, etc., which are not accompanied by a long flourish, sometimes extending over five or six bars. The word "trembling" is subjected to protracted developments. The flourish may even distinctly serve descriptive purposes, and is often attached to the verbs, to run, to fly, to flow, etc.

A personal name is also often accompanied by such ornaments. The object is then to represent the prolonged reverberation of a call; it is a sort of musical vocative. In such cases the special termination adopted

may also remain attached to the name and becomes a sort of personal signature. Thus, in a popular song of Blow's the two names, "Nigrocella" and "Alexis," have each their special termination.

Appogiaturas and grace-notes also adorn part of the instrumental music of the school. This is but another effort to enrich the language of sound and make it express the emotions by the accumulation of notes. It often seems that these notes stand instead of chords, owing to the imperfection of the instruments, virginal, harpsichord, spinet, for which the work was written. The sounds being of very short duration, a rapid succession of notes instead of chords was made necessary. Some of Purcell's or Blow's pieces performed on the modern pianoforte are so full of grace-notes that it is wellnigh painful to listen to them.

In addition to the general characteristics of the school, it is necessary to distinguish within its limits two main tendencies represented by its two leaders, Humfrey and Blow. With the former may be grouped all the elder members, Smith, Wise, Turner, Tudway, and with the latter the younger ones, who were also his pupils, namely Hall and Purcell.

Humfrey developed the dramatic tendencies first encouraged by Cooke; his style is sober, he attaches importance to rhythm, his choruses are simple. In his works the French influence prevails. Blow, who remained in England when Humfrey was in France, and who had himself been encouraged by the King to imitate Carissimi, preserved more of the original Italian influence. It is in his works as well as those of the pupils that we find so many grace-notes and flourishes.

Moreover, Blow was fond of writing two-part songs and choruses. He was above all a singer, whilst Humfrey was also an excellent lutanist. Blow's works include many intricate choruses marked by a constant

effort to keep the parts independent of one another, to oppose and combine them.

This distinction helps us to understand what Purcell owes to his fellow-students. Humfrey is his predecessor, whilst it is not always easy to tell how far Blow, who survived his celebrated pupil, was influenced by him. The common characteristics of Humfrey's and Blow's works can therefore best define the nature of the training received by Purcell. Nevertheless, we must add, that in Blow's early works his main qualities are already evident, and the end of his career is marked but by some attempts at more complex and difficult compositions which are not always amongst the best.

Is it possible to follow still more closely the growth of such a movement and define Henry Cooke's personal share in its birth and development?

The boys of the first set were entrusted to his training at the age of twelve or thirteen and remained with him three or four years or more, and we have seen how zealously he appears to have discharged his office. In order to know how far during that time they profited by his teaching, we should consider both the master's work and the pupil's compositions whilst under his direction.

Cooke's work for the Church was comparatively extensive. According to the collection of anthems used in the King's Chapel,* Clifford's "Divine Service," and some Oxford Manuscripts, Henry Cooke wrote the whole service for Charles the Second's Coronation, and for a festival of the Knights of the Garter, and at least eighteen anthems.

The greater number of these consist of passages from Scripture, mainly Psalms, and appear to have been composed before Cooke's appointment as Master of the Children, the author's name being given in Clifford's

* Harleian MSS., 6346.

"Divine Services" as "Mr Henry Cooke." The Coronation Service and three anthems are in verse; the music of all these was apparently written after the Restoration, the author's name being set down as "Henry Cooke, Esq., Master of the Children and one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Chapel Royal." The anthems were apparently very simple, consisting only of recitatives and short choruses. The Coronation Service was an elaborate work, comprising an Introduction setting forth the occasion of the ceremony, a long anthem of fourteen verses, the special Coronation words, "Behold, O God, our Defender . . ." followed by an Allelujah, and finally a hymn for the Sacrament. The words of the anthem and concluding hymn are remarkably odd. Here is an illustration of the former:

> "Hearst thou my Soule what serious things,
> Both the Psalme and Sybill sings,
> Of a sure Judge from whose sharp ray,
> The world in flames shall fly away."

The Sacrament hymn is more like a nursery rhyme than a hymn:

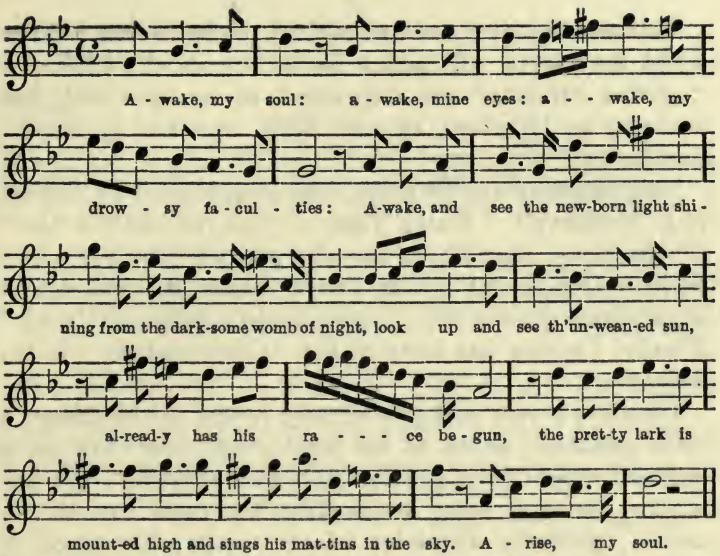
> "The twelve apostles in a Ring
> Sate round the table with their King,
> Who in his hands himself did bring,
> Feast and feast-giver being one thing."

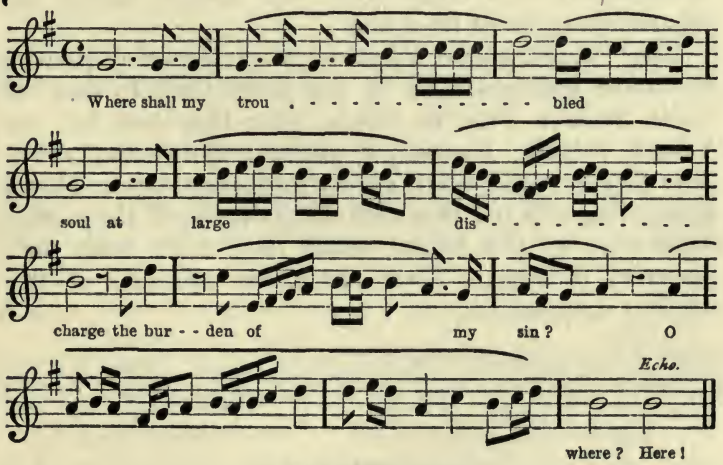
It may be assumed that this was performed by a very large choir, and Cooke probably resorted to devices similar to those he made use of for the festival of the Knights of the Garter, when he placed two double sackbuts and two double courtals at convenient distances among the gentlemen of both choirs, that all might keep time, one sackbut and one courtal being placed before the four petty canons who began the hymn, and the other two immediately before the prebends of the College. The instrumental accompaniment was doubtless partly entrusted to strings, as Pepys mentions the fiddlers in red vests. Unfortunately the noise at the Coronation

Service was so great, says the diarist, that the music was lost to everybody. Whatever may have been its value, this shows that the Master of the Children was not merely a writer of airs and recitatives, but had tried his hand at elaborate compositions.

So far as secular or semi-secular music is concerned, Cooke, in addition to the " First Day's Entertainment " and the " Siege of Rhodes," wrote a number of " suites " and songs. The " suites " consist of three or four movements, the base part of five of these being preserved in the Bodleian Library; they include: airs, courantes, allemandes, sarabandes, pavanes. Cooke contributed a few songs to an edition of Playford's " Pleasant Musical Companion." In the Christ Church Library, Oxford, there is a love song, " As on a River's Side I Chanced to Stay," and in the British Museum three songs of a religious character (one of them an Evening Song being also attributed to Humfrey) and the music to Cowley's " Chronicle," a gay poem enumerating the many mistresses of a fickle lover.

Of Cooke's work very little is left. The only piece of sacred music we have found is in the Christ Church Library, Oxford, the base part being also preserved in the Bodleian. This anthem, beginning with the words, " Turn Thou us, O good Lord," comprises three solo verses and short choruses. The recitative, ornamented with a few graces, is rather dry and shapeless; the choruses are somewhat disdainful of contrapuntal rules; but the varied rhythm and the design of each phrase are indicative of an earnest attempt at expression. In the songs, which would often call for a flowing melody, the same love of the expressive recitative is manifest, as in the following tune:


A - wake, my soul: a - wake, mine eyes: a - - wake, my
drow - sy fa - cul - ties: A-wake, and see the new-born light shi -
ning from the dark-some womb of night, look up and see th'un-wean-ed sun,
al-read-y has his ra - - - ce be - gun, the pret-ty lark is
mount-ed high and sings his mat-tins in the sky. A - rise, my soul.

One of these songs,* wherein pious utterances are curiously mingled with an attempt to imitate the effect of an echo, is, as it were, a caricature of the author's manner.

* Add. MSS., 14399.

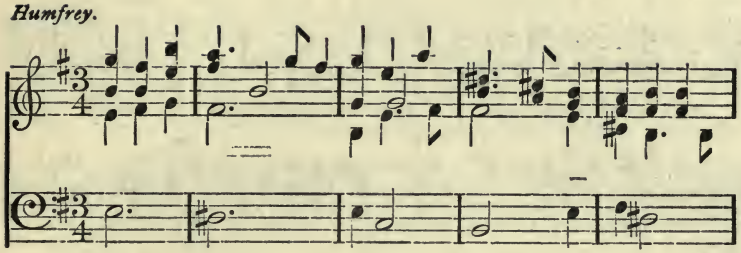
To these few data we may add his pupils' works written while they were still under his direction. In Clifford's "Divine Services" are mentioned, as we have said, five anthems by Humfrey, two by Blow, and five by Robert Smith.

The music of one of these only is published by Boyce. It is Humfrey's "Haste Thee, O God, to Deliver Me" (Psalm lxx.). But Boyce has also printed Humfrey's first anthem (Psalm li.) which Pepys speaks of, and which begins with the words: "Have mercy upon me, O God." Finally, Tudway has inserted the "Club Anthem" in his collection.

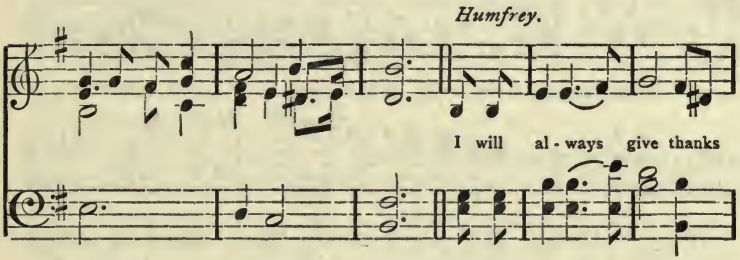
Humfrey's two anthems already reveal the composer's main qualities; some of his later productions are more elaborate and show greater skill and practice. He has written more striking recitatives, but these are by no means unworthy examples of his works; his sense of rhythm, of melodic beauty and dramatic effect, is noticeable. He certainly perfected himself on the Continent, but his progress was continuous; it was the normal development of a talent which had already shown unmistakable signs of its worth.

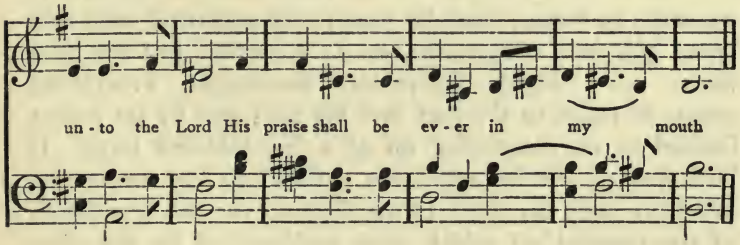
The "Club Anthem" (although less decisive) conveys the same impression as to the particular direction the three authors were to follow after they had left the Chapel Royal. Humfrey's opening symphony, three-part choruses and solo, Turner's bass recitative, Blow's concluding trio and four-part chorus set forth those main tendencies of the school which they drew from their common training. Here are a few passages of this curious composition.

Humfrey.

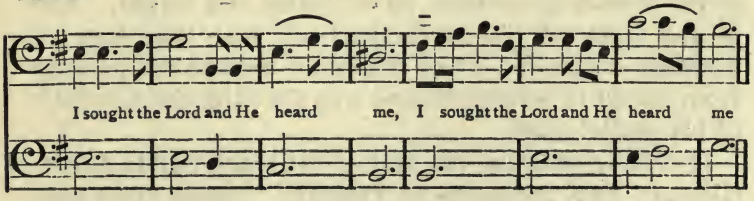
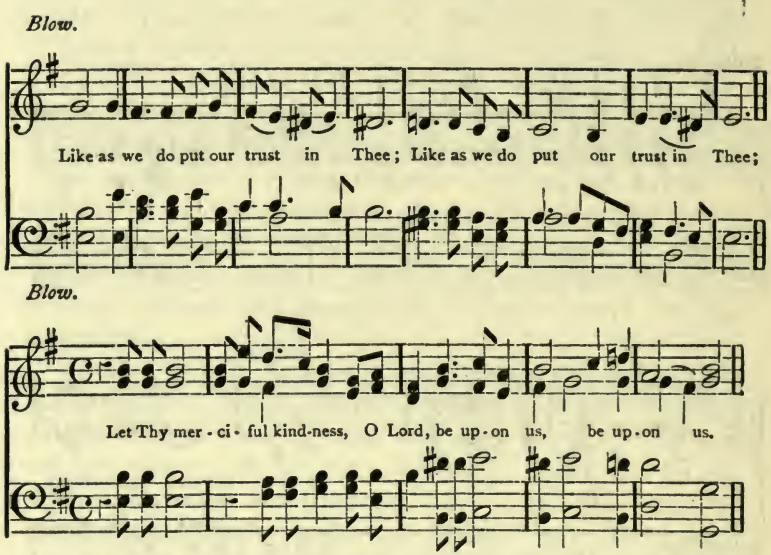


Humfrey.





Turner.



Blow.
Like as we do put our trust in Thee; Like as we do put our trust in Thee;
Blow.
Let Thy mer - ci - ful kind-ness, O Lord, be up - on us, be up - on us.

It were difficult with such scanty information to judge between Pepys' admiration and Burney's contempt for the Master of the Boys. It does not seem, so far as it is possible to divine, that he was really endowed with any great gift as a composer, but as a teacher and the promoter of a highly interesting movement, everything seems to point to the fact that his part was by no means limited to the mustering up of a few talented boys. If he lacked genius he lacked not enthusiasm and enterprise. We have seen his share in the first opera; the new forms of the musical art which were acclimatised by the composers of the Restoration, the Italian recitative as well as the French dance-tune, he cultivated and taught. And in the least of his productions we find that love of dramatic expression which especially marked the passage from sacred to secular art and was the chief characteristic of his pupils' work.

The old organists of his Majesty's Chapel, Childe, Lowe, Gibbons, who, according to Tudway, " hardly knew how

to comport themselves with these new-fangled ways," could offer little help. Gibbons, although he had not disdained writing for masks, such as "Cupid and Death," performed in 1653, never gave up the old style, and Childe's effort in the new direction was very shy. Of the other two well-known composers who might possibly have had some influence over our school, Benjamin Rogers was not directly connected with Chapel Royal, and Matthew Locke, although a contributor to the "Siege of Rhodes," is, so far as his most interesting works are concerned, but a contemporary of Humfrey, Blow, and even Purcell.

It seems, therefore, that the real promoter of the new movement within our little group of musicians was Captain Cooke. He could not, of course, create his pupils' genius, and they soon left him far behind, but what he was called upon to do and did was to spur them on in that new direction, which ultimately proved to be the right one. Charles II. was apparently not mistaken in his choice of the Master of the Boys.

PART II

THE SECULAR WORKS OF THE SCHOOL

CHAPTER I

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC: SONGS AND PLAYS

We can now analyse more in detail the characteristics of the school by a survey of their most interesting secular compositions.

The greater number of these works are only preserved in manuscript. They are dispersed in various libraries; some are to be found in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, others in the Music School Department of the Bodleian, and in the Christ Church Library, Oxford. But the British Museum contains the richest collection, and has furnished us with many valuable documents.

The printed works of the school are to be found in various collections of the time which bear quaint old titles intended no doubt to seem graceful and poetic, and are adorned with elaborate engravings representing fair singers and musicians and chubby cupids.

The most important of these collections for vocal music is Playford's "Choice Aires and Dialogues," the second part of which, published in four books from 1676 to 1683, contains many songs by Pelham Humfrey, Turner, Smith, Blow, and a few by Tudway and Michael Wise. Humfrey, Blow, Turner, Hall, and Tudway are also repre-

sented in the "Theater of Music" (1685), Turner and Blow in the "Banquet of Music" (1688), Blow, Purcell, and Wise in the "Thesaurus Musicus" (1693), Hall in the "Deliciae Musicae" (1695). There exists in the British Museum Library a bulky volume of songs apparently collected from different sources and bound together under the general title, "Old English Songs"; a number of these are by Turner. A monthly periodical, the "Gentleman's Journal" (1692-94) published contemporary songs, several being by Blow and Purcell. The "Mercurius Musicus" also contains songs by our composers.

Some of Blow's works were printed separately; we have a few odes and a selection of his vocal music published by the author in 1700 under the name "Amphion Anglicus," in imitation of Purcell's "Orpheus Britannicus," two sonorous names after the style of the age.

The collection called "Joyful Cuckholdom," which contains together with many songs by Purcell, a few by Turner and Blow, is not devoted to particularly gay and ribald songs as the odd title might suggest. These are to be found in the "Catch Club" and some editions of the "Musical Companion" and "Pleasant Musical Companion."

In the course of the eighteenth century J. Stafford Smith published his "Musica Antiqua," and thus handed down to us a number of interesting pieces by Humfrey, Blow, and Purcell.

To these collections may be added the "Cantica Sacra" (1674) and "Harmonia Sacra" (1714), containing songs by Humfrey, Blow, Turner, and Michael Wise, which, though sacred, are very different from the ordinary anthems and have a decidedly dramatic character.

Our collection of printed dance-music is very scanty. Locke's "Melothesia" (1673) contains three pieces by R. Smith; Turner, Purcell, and Blow are represented in "Musick's Handmaid" (1678-89); Blow in the "Choice

Collection of Ayres for the Harpsichord or Spinnett" (1700) and "New Lessons for Virginals." We have to be thankful to Mr Pauer for having carefully collected in "The Old English Composers" a number of Purcell's and Blow's most interesting works for the harpsichord.

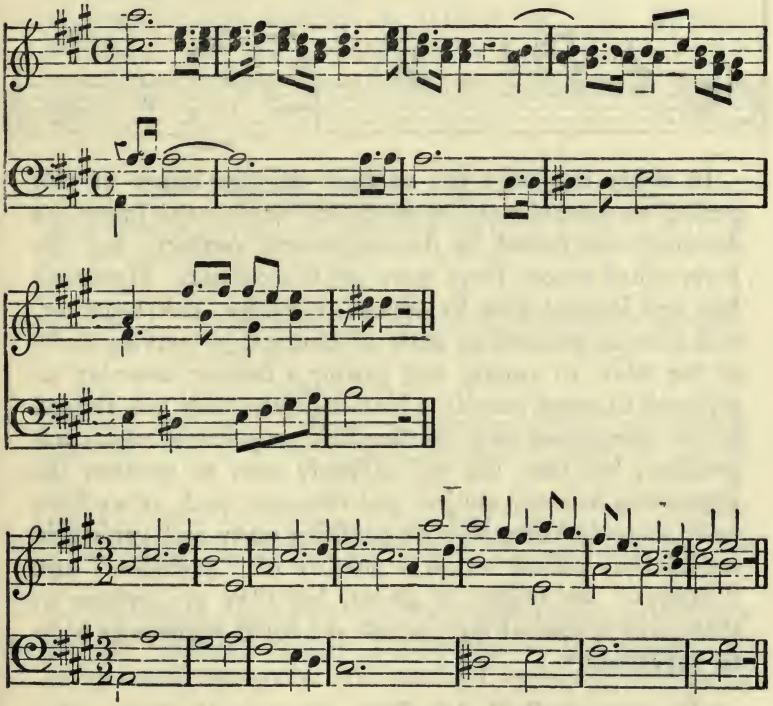
Two other works which have been recently printed for the first time are Blow's "New Year's Ode for 1685" (1901), edited by Dr Mann, and his "Venus and Adonis" (1902), edited by Mr Arkwright.

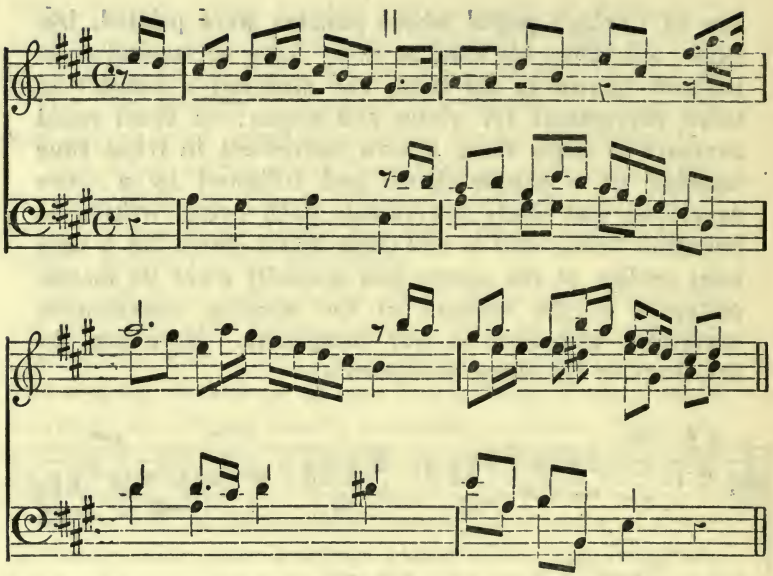
The pieces of dance-music which have been preserved are as a rule very simple, partly owing to the imperfect instruments then in use, lute, theorbo, virginal, etc. We find a great variety of dances, many being French or in vogue at the French Court, courantes, minuets, gavottes, gaillardes, pavanes, chacones, sarabandes, allemandes, gigues, etc.

As the love of instrumental music grew, some of these developed into more complex pieces which could scarcely be used for dancing purposes, and in some cases preserved but slight traces of their origin. The violin patronised by Charles II. made steady headway, and the introduction of overtures and act-tunes into plays, of "symphonies" and "ritornellos" into songs and choruses, and even into church ceremonies, contributed to the rapid development of instrumental music. Although songs, dialogues, and choruses seem still to have prevailed in private entertainments, chamber-music was in process of formation.

The first instances we have of instrumental composition are the "sets" or "suites," consisting of various dance movements and "airs," usually three or four in number. It would be difficult to detect any general plan in such sets, but there appears an attempt at real composition in the *sonata*. Though very different from what it is to-day, it already showed signs of a general conception linking together the elements of the suite. Purcell is the only

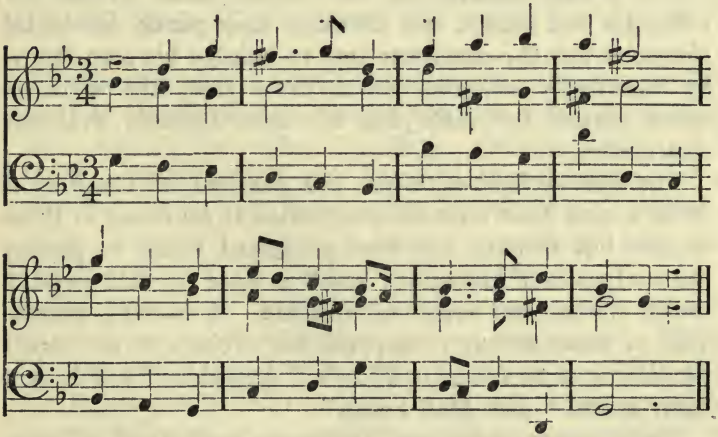
one of Cooke's pupils whose sonatas were printed, but Blow, who tried his hand at every form of musical composition known in his time, has also left a sonata* in three movements for violin and organ:—a short rapid overture in duple time, a slow movement in triple time founded on a simple theme and followed by a more developed and lively movement, both being written in imitation form, such is this piece which offers but a very faint outline of the sonata and specially owes its incompleteness to the absence of the opening duothematic movement unknown to our composers. Here are the first bars of the three movements:



* B. M. Add. MSS., 33236.

In order to judge the nascent chamber-music of this period we should bear in mind that neither the fugue, as definitely organised in the eighteenth century, nor the form called sonata form were yet in existence. Musicians had not learned how to oppose, combine, link together, and develop phrases or parts of phrases, preserving unity in the midst of variety and giving a definite meaning or purpose to mere sounds. Not only had they not arrived at the conception of a duothematic or polythematic composition, but they did not properly turn to account the opposition between subject and response, and, as we have said, scarcely knew how to combine unity and variety in modulation. Blow wrote a number of "preludes" and "fugues" for organ or spinet, but they are written in that plain canonical style which the tonal fugue was soon to supersede.*

* See especially B. M. Add. MSS., 34695, and Mr Pauer's "Old English Edition."

Blow should rather be judged in connection with an imperfect and transitory form of instrumental composition—the *ground*. Lacking the resources now available for the development of a theme or a group of themes, composers supplied the need for unity by a primitive and quaint device. They built a series of developments on a simple melody in the bass, repeating it over and over again in a scarcely altered form. Blow, like Purcell, often resorted to this curious scheme, laying all his imagination and technical ingeniousness under contribution, to conceal its imperfections. Sometimes he did succeed in turning it to account. A ground with twelve variations published in the "New Lessons for Virginals," and another in manuscript with eighteen variations for two violins and a bass,* are instructive examples of such productions. The latter begins thus:



In the piece published by Mr Pauer (Ground I.) the ground, although always perceptible, is so transformed as to avoid too great stiffness and monotony. Chords

* B. M. Add. MSS., 33236.

and rhythm are subjected to a number of alterations, and the guiding melody is at times transferred from bass to treble. There is an appreciable effort to keep up interest and outline an emotional evolution. The more conflicting and, we might almost say more dramatic, passages of the first fifteen variations lead to a melodious part, and then a succession of chords open the more brilliant variations of the last part.

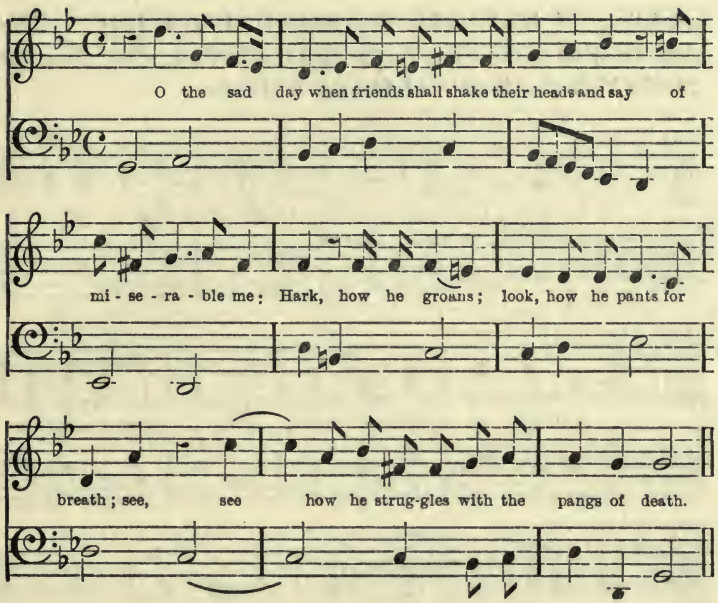
Despite the imperfect means then available, we find even in such music an effort towards dramatic expression, and many phrases are wordless recitatives.

The songs preserved in the collections of the time or in manuscript are not often merely sentimental airs and fanciful ditties. We find many love songs, but they aim at expressing intense feelings, passion, jealousy, disappointment, etc., or else they are satirical and comic.

The greater number of these songs were written for comedies and masks, and although their purely incidental character left the composer free to indulge his own fancy, he manifestly endeavoured to draw from the situation some reason for satisfying his bent towards dramatic expression.

The fine recitatives which are admired in Humfrey's, Wise's, and Blow's anthems are often to be found in these works, but feelings are here permitted freely to display themselves and sometimes reach a state of wild passion which theologism could not tolerate. A curious illustration of these efforts to express the ravings of an unruly passion is to be found in Blow's "Amphion," and is very aptly called "The Mad Song."

Many pieces show our composers were fond of turning into music not only emotions but sensations. In a song on "A Dying Friend" ("Harmonia Sacra") Humfrey endeavours to give us a physical picture of death.

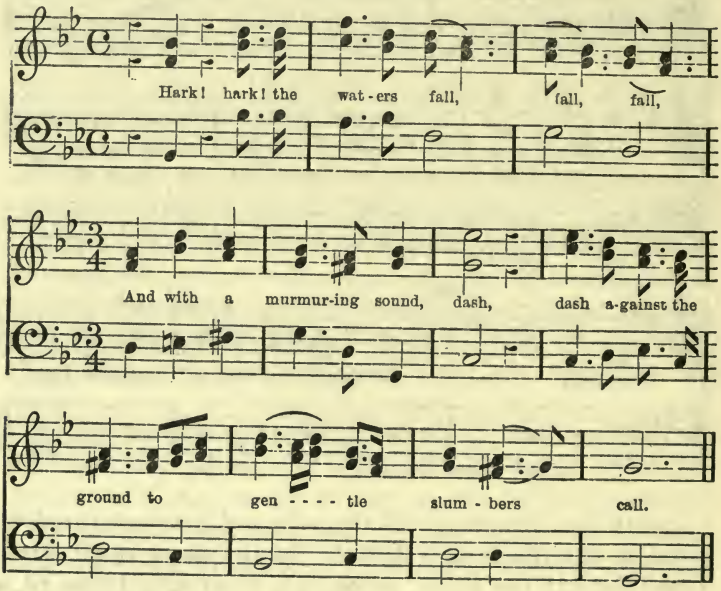

O the sad day when friends shall shake their heads and say of
mi - se - ra - ble me: Hark, how he groans; look, how he pants for
breath; see, see how he strug-gles with the pangs of death.

Smith also strives to tell the sobs and groans caused by grief at the death of a friend. In the same spirit Blow often depicts the sighs, moanings, trembling limbs of a lover. Smith would also describe the sensations of a wedding night, and Tudway the heaving of "Panthea's rising breasts." Fear is always connected with the physical picture of shaking and shuddering.

We here touch upon descriptive music which appears to have had much attraction for our composers. Many of their songs and cantatas are of the pastoral kind, and the music occasionally recalls the sounds which are ever associated with rural scenery, such as the purling of streams and singing of birds. In a song, "Ah, Fading Joy!"* Humfrey introduces short passages of triple time which mingle the tunefulness of Nature's songs and

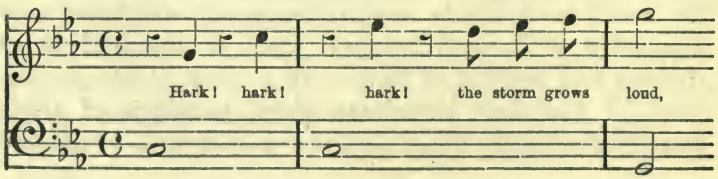
* "Choice Ayres and Dialogues."

warbling of birds with the regret of lost joys. The chorus, also combining duple and triple time, describes the gentle "dash, dash" of falling waters.

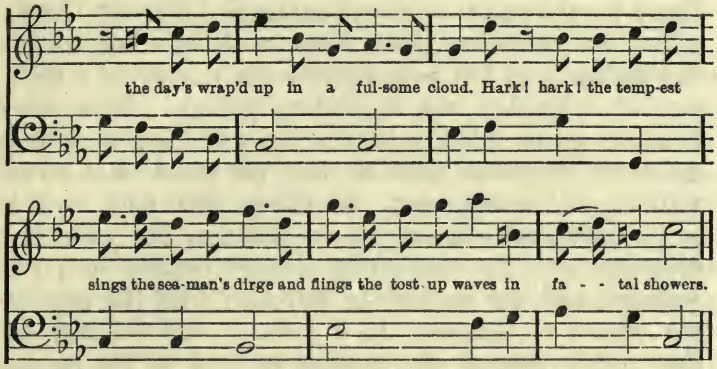


Turner is a special amateur of rural scenery. He often sings the joy of springtime.

Seascapes are also to be met with. Humfrey's "Storm" * is an interesting attempt to depict the surging waves, tossed vessel, and bustling sailors, the cracking of masts and groans of drowning men.



* "Choice Ayres and Dialogues."


the day's wrap'd up in a ful-some cloud. Hark! hark! the temp-est
sings the sea-man's dirge and flings the tost-up waves in fa - - tal showers.

There is obviously something too conscious, too awkwardly intellectual in many of these songs, but when we regard the work as preparatory we must acknowledge such efforts could only benefit their successors, who, thanks to a better musical education, would evoke such feelings by a more discreet suggestion of their physical accompaniment hardly perceived by themselves. Moreover, in the foregoing examples we see that the natural phenomena and the emotions they symbolise are narrowly united; Humfrey's "Storm" is symbolical of a lover's troubles. These men understood that physical phenomena, interesting only in their relation to the human soul, may help to give a more definite shape to the feelings expressed by music.

In connection with these descriptive tendencies, it has often been observed that the composers of that period never separated the idea of an ascending or descending movement from that of an ascending or descending scale. The musicians of Cooke's school have certainly been largely instrumental in promoting such a custom. The connection between the two notions was obviously exaggerated by them, and they made use of it whenever they had the slightest opportunity. But we should not say it amounts to a "musical pun," as has been suggested.

There is, of course, no direct connection, for the Greeks called an ascending scale what nowadays we call a descending one; but both notions are related to a third, that of increasing and decreasing energy. It is more tiring to go up a hill or to sing an ascending scale than go down the same slope or sing the same scale downwards. It would seem, therefore, that both notions were connected with the same feelings, the ascending direction with the increasing energy implied in joyful feelings, and the descending direction with the depressing effects of sadness. In a general way we may say that such a custom was justified so long as the musical design helped to foster the emotions connected with the idea of an ascending or descending direction; but it became ridiculous when the purpose was too openly descriptive.

Our school went still further in these attempts to intellectualise musical expression. Many of the poems they set music to were not merely a lyrical outpouring of the heart; they often amounted to regular dissertations on love or on various moral topics wherein it is not difficult to detect the influence of French literature. Our composers did their best to turn into a sufficiently tuneful recitative the various phases of not very emotional arguments. They contrasted the pleasures of town and country life, the ideals of lewd courtiers and honest peasants; they discoursed on the virtues of a true lover; they satirised coquetry and fickleness.

But none went so far in this curious intellectualisation of music as Sampson Estwick. In one of his songs preserved in manuscript * he asks: "What art thou, love?" and concludes it is idle "toiling to propagate another thing as vile as I." This amusing production seems but a sermon of the worthy divine; not a homily inspired with lyrical enthusiasm, but one of those ethical dissertations

* B. M. Add. MSS., 33234.

which advanced Protestants are wont to serve to their audience. The notation is pretty accurate; had a musician sat down to listen to the preacher and written down the sounds he heard, adding a few flourishes here and there, the result would probably have been much the same. Still we may say on behalf of Sampson Estwick that a love-song of his has also been preserved ("An Amorous Sigh") which is far more natural, more emotional, more musical, because it is written not by the clergyman but by the man, and does not try to teach or demonstrate.

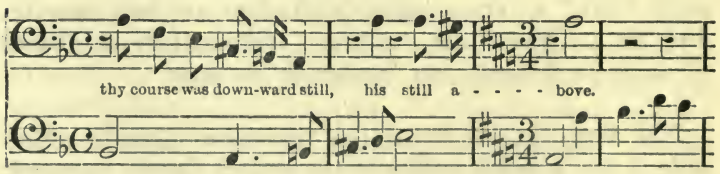
The mirthful element in music should not be overlooked; it is necessary to complete dramatic music, and also formed the subject of the efforts of Cooke's pupils. All contributed to those collections of catchy and lively, sometimes obscene, songs, called the "Catch Club," "Musical Companion," "Jovial Companions," etc., of which there was a veritable plethora after the Restoration. These songs are often canons for three, four, or five voices; others include a solo or duet and a chorus. The words of some of them are anything but poetic, and might have been inspired by Rabelais' coarsest jokes, Blow and Turner being responsible for some of the least refined. But others are merely comic or have the ordinary convivial character of love and drink-songs.

Michael Wise seems to have been particularly successful in this sort of production. His setting of the "Midnight Cats," a very popular catch, does not lack humour, and his "Chiron and Achilles," erroneously attributed by some to Purcell, was famous in his time.

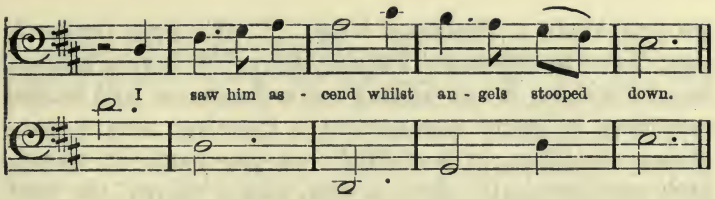
The dramatic and descriptive tendencies already noticeable in the plainest songs of the school clearly appear in a number of somewhat more elaborate works, including dialogues, duets, trios, and choruses, which might often be termed cantatas.

Love is, as usual, the predominant subject, and the idyllic style is preferred. Humfrey sets music to an adaptation of Anacreon's "Cupid and the Bee," wherein the passionate complaints of the wayward child and the gentle raillery of Venus are gracefully turned into music.* Blow,† drawing inspiration from the same source, writes a pleasant dialogue between Cupid and Venus with a chorus: Cupid complains to his mother that he has been robbed by nymphs of his bow and arrows. Hall gathers round Venus a chorus of nymphs, "Awake, Fair Goddess," in a simple dialogue happily exempt from his usual unending flourishes.‡ Turner, in the same spirit, places in the mouth of a lonely swain a conversation between two lovers, "Under the Branches of a Spreading Tree."§

Mythological and allegorical subjects were fashionable. Hall's dialogue between "Charon and Cromwell," with a chorus of Furies, is not less curious for its subject than for its treatment. Party politics have never been a very happy source of inspiration for art, but the author apparently tried to make up for the difficulties of the subject by resorting to all the devices familiar to his school. The Royalist musician, in order to emphasise the contrast between the bloodthirsty roundhead and the royal martyr, opposes at the same time the melodic design, the key and the rhythm.



* "Choice Ayres."
† B. M. Add. MSS., 14399.
‡ B. M. Add. MSS., 22100.
§ "Choice Ayres."



The chorus of Furies, "Drag Him Down," is in the same style.

In their constant endeavour to turn everything into song, our composers did not hesitate to celebrate contemporary events such as the burning of Whitehall Chapel.*

Many of these dialogues are written in the old Italian manner, the voices remaining distinct and only answering one another. But Blow, followed in this as in many other things by Hall, his pupil and admirer, prefers duets and trios as producing more interesting effects by the direct combination of voices. In the "Amphion Anglicus" prominence is given to such compositions, including "Go, Perjured Man," the two-part cantata written at the King's request in imitation of Carissimi's "Dite o cieli." Other duets, "Morpheus, the Humble God," "When I Drink my Heart is Possessed," "Go, Perjured Maid," † "If I Live to be Old," ‡ "Will Fair Panthea's Cold Disdain," § a trio, "Cloe Found Amyntas Lying," † may stand as good illustrations of such pieces. Hall's duets, "Beauty, the Painful Mother's Prayer," and especially "Phœbus and Daphne," emphasise the mannerisms of the school which Blow's originality often overcomes.

Combining duet, dialogue, and chorus, Blow leads us nearer dramatic music in a curious scene representing a quarrel between a fickle husband and a jealous wife, "To

* See Blow's dialogue between Philander and Terpander in the "Amphion Anglicus."

† "Amphion."

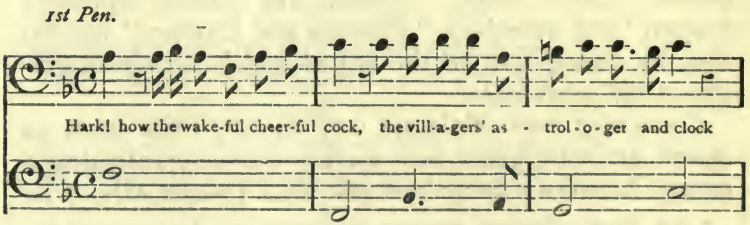
‡ "Theater of Music."

§ "Banquet of Music."

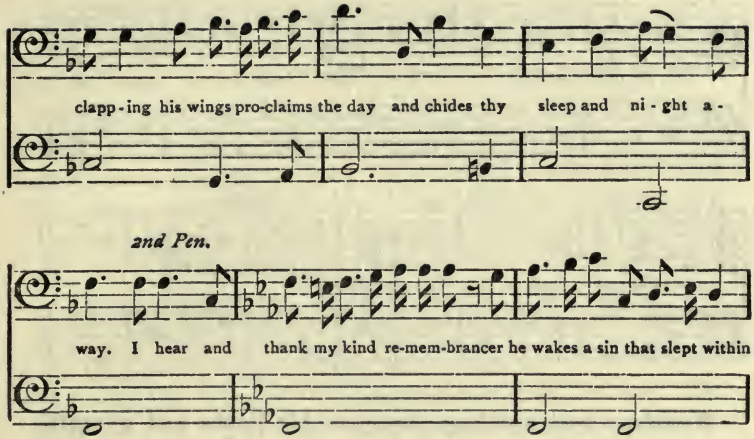
me you Made a Thousand Vows."* His little composition, "As on Septimus' Panting Breast."† was a favourite of the time; it was printed more than once, and is also preserved in many manuscripts. Opening with a symphony of violins, it is divided into two parts or scenes, each consisting of a duet, a solo, and a chorus, the duet narrating the lovers' doings, the solo being placed in the mouth of one of the lovers, and the chorus evoking the picture of the God of Love watching over them. It is by itself a short musical comedy.

In this class of composition may be included some sacred dialogues foreshadowing, like Purcell's "Witch of Endor," the oratorio, which was destined to become so popular in England. Michael Wise set music to a passage of the "Song of Solomon." His dialogue, with a two-part chorus, "I Charge you, O Daughters!" is permeated with the youthful and passionate spirit of that old erotic poem which our forefathers persisted in turning into a far-fetched allegory.

Humfrey's "Dialogue Between Two Penitents,"‡ is a curious and interesting scene of a distinctly dramatic character, ending with a *chorus* and *miserere* by Blow, the intricate and florid style of which is in deep contrast with Humfrey's severe recitative.

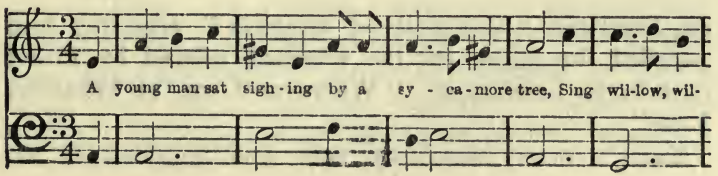


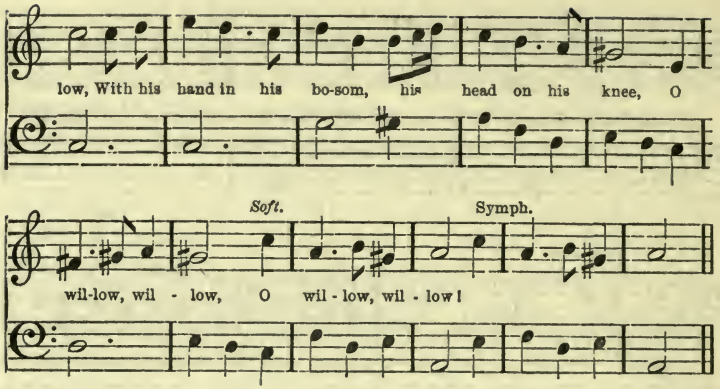
* "Amphion."
† "Amphion."
‡ "Harmonia Sacra."


clapp-ing his wings pro-claims the day and chides thy sleep and ni-ght a-
and Pen.
way. I hear and thank my kind re-mem-brancer he wakes a sin that slept within

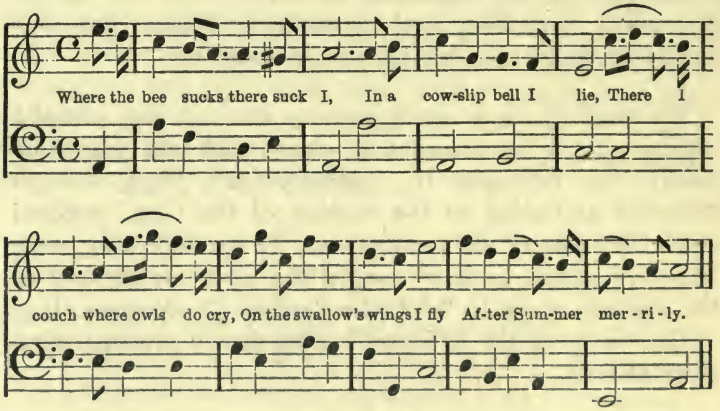
In the same collection are to be found "Lucifer's Fall" and "Dives and Abraham" by Blow, two fine pieces with rather too many flourishes, and too openly descriptive ascending and descending scales, but not devoid at times of a certain tragic grandeur.

We shall form a more definite idea of the school's secular songs by connecting them with the plays or masks they belonged to. Shakespeare's plays, though distorted according to the fashion of the time, inspired more than one of our composers. In the following song Humfrey seems to have caught the deep melancholy of the pathetic scene in "Othello" when Desdemona sings "The Song of the Willow." The words are unfortunately altered.





Humfrey was not less happy in his lively and graceful song for the "Tempest," the rhythm of which conveys an impression of lightness and nimbleness suited to aerial spirits.


Where the bee sucks there suck I, In a cow-slip bell I lie, There I
couch where owls do cry, On the swallow's wings I fly Af-ter Sum-mer mer - ri - ly.

In Dryden's "Conquest of Granada" Humfrey also supplied the music for the serenade offered by Prince Abdalla to Lyndaraxa: "Wherever I am, or Whatever I do."

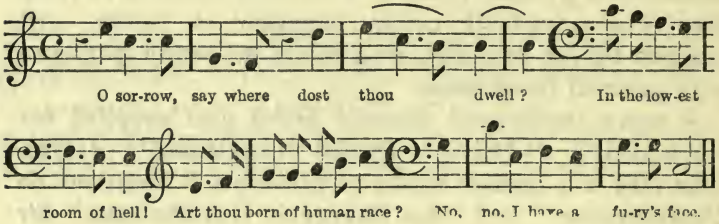
Smith's more humorous vein was appealed to for

various comedies of the time. In the "Epsom Wells," for which Purcell supplied a somewhat extensive score, Smith set music to the song: "O, How I Abhor the Tumults and Smokes of the Town." This song is both openly satirical and ironical; it opposes country pleasures to town life, but is sung by a Londoner who presents himself as a genuine rustic to a besotted amateur of rural life. The complexly comic situation is pretty well grasped by the musician, who mixes grotesque passages with pastoral tunefulness.

A more sentimental pastoral Smith also supplied for Ravencroft's "Citizen Turned Gentleman" (1675). This play is a clumsy fusion of Molière's "Monsieur de Pourceaugnac" and "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme," Sir Simon and Mr Jourdain being unexpectedly brought together. The pastoral for three singers and a chorus, "A Heart in Love's Empire," which in the "Bourgeois Gentilhomme" is performed under the direction of Monsieur Jourdain's music-master in the opening scene, is here transferred to the end of the play. First prepared for a wedding night, it finally serves the purpose of a serenade, "quick and brisk," performed before the house where the Grand Turk is staying.

Smith also wrote more serious songs. He set music to an allegorical dialogue between "Nature and Sorrow," which overshadows a gloomy drama made more harrowing by passages of forced buffoonery, viz.: the "Noble Spanish Soldier" by Rowley. The King of Spain has forsaken Oncelia, whom he had secretly married and who has given him a son. He is anxious to get back the marriage deed, which may be used against him, and, with the help of a Cardinal, resolves to wrest it from Oncelia by craft, making her believe he is ready to repudiate his newly wedded Queen and recognise her as his wife. The weird dialogue between "Nature and Sorrow" prepares us for this scene of dark treachery.

We see a table covered with black, whereon two waxen tapers are burning; at one end stands the King's picture and at the other a crucifix; whilst Oncelia is walking about "discontentedly weeping to the crucifix, her maid with her," the dialogue is sung, expressing the silent despair of the forsaken wife.

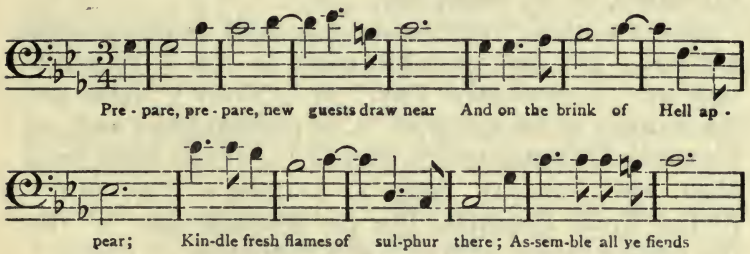


Turner appears to have been a most active composer of songs for plays. In a number of comedies which are now quite forgotten we find his name. In a "Woman's Riddle" (1717) a widow, Lady Outside, sings a humorous song by him, "How Unhappy's the Nymph who Barters her Treasure." His song, "Says Dickie to Dolly," in the "Virgin Sacrifice," is a springing, catching tune with a quaint snap which was popular at the time.

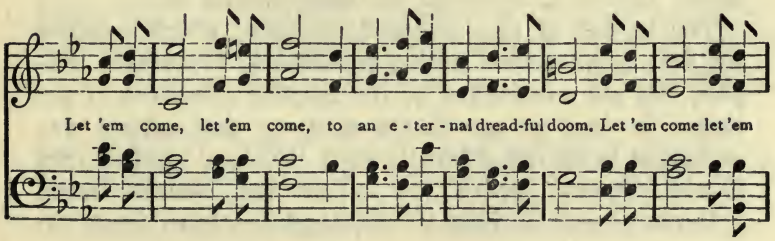
The most interesting of Turner's contributions for the stage is the music he supplied for Shadwell's "Libertine." When this subject gave birth to one of the greatest masterpieces of the opera, it had already been treated by several musicians. Before Mozart's "Don Giovanni," before Gluck's "Grand Ballet," Purcell and Turner had written interesting pieces for Shadwell's play. We have found three tunes by Turner, one being preserved in manuscript.

Shadwell's "Libertine" is not a very happy presentment of so rich a subject. The contrast between its comic and tragic elements which Molière so skilfully turned to account lacks preparation and rather sets out the farcical character of the play. On the other hand, it

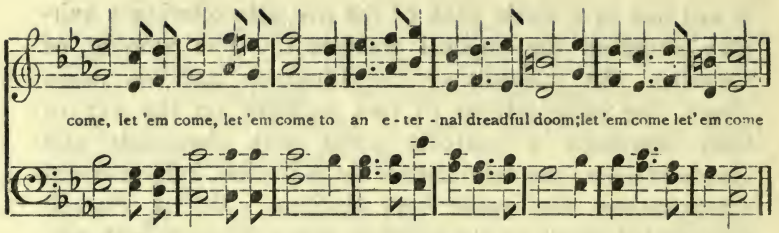
is not bad as a mask, each of the five acts offering a suitable situation for musical treatment. The wooing of Leonora, the meeting of the Libertine and his many wives, the lamentations of two maidens on the eve of their marriage, a pastoral scene with shepherds and shepherdesses, the fatal dinner in the tomb, offer natural opportunities for music and singing. Whilst Purcell contributed music to the pastoral scene in the fourth act, Turner wrote tunes for the first and last, namely the two serenades, "Thou Joy of all Hearts," and "Chloris, When you Disperse your Influence," successively offered to Leonora by Don Juan and his rival, Octavia, and also the song of the devils. The last-mentioned is an interesting effort to translate into music a particularly tragic situation.* It begins thus:


Pre - pare, pre - pare, new guests draw near And on the brink of Hell ap -
pear; Kin-dle fresh flames of sul-phur there; As-sem-ble all ye fiends

and ends with the following chorus:



* B. M. Add. MSS., 22100.



To these illustrations may be added a hymn to Ceres,* which apparently formed part of a mask not unlike the mask inserted in Shakespeare's "Tempest":

"'Tis you great Ceres that our barns do fill."

Turner, whose bent was always towards pastoral subjects, is here in his proper sphere, and the little piece formed of a chorus, tenor solo, trio, and chorus, with ritornellos, is not unpleasing.

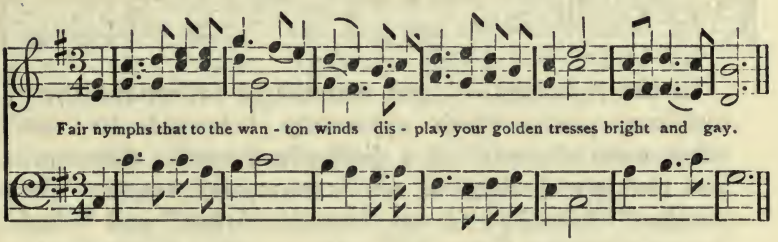
Blow's work for the theatre is the most extensive after Purcell's. We find incidental music by him in comedies such as "Bartholomew Fair," by D'Urfey ("Here are the Rarities of the Old Fair"), in political plays such as Howard's "Committee"—Part II.—("Thou Flask once filled with Glorious Wine"), D'Urfey's "Royalist" ("The Great Augustus, like the Glorious Sun"). In the pathetic scene of Nat. Lee's "Princess of Clèves," when the jealous Prince of Clèves commits suicide during a Court gathering, he wrote the tune, "Lovely Celina," whilst Farmer contributed the instrumental music.

The legend of Orpheus and Euridice, which supplied the first opera-writers with a particularly favourable subject, was not overlooked by the English musicians of the time. In 1705 we see that a mask on that subject was embodied in Martin Bladen's play, "Solon," and in 1707 Daniel Purcell wrote the music for Dennis' mask "Orpheus and Euridice." Although we have found no

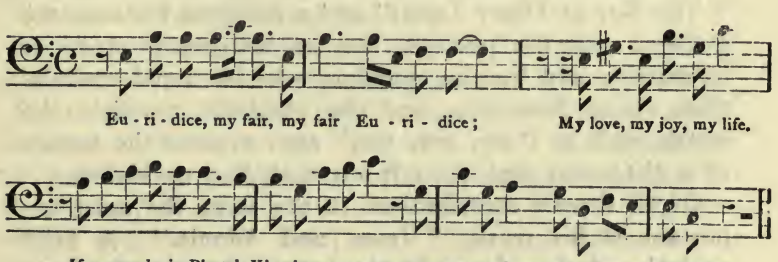
* B. M. Add. MSS., 33287.

record of a similar mask composed by our musicians, we have two pieces by Blow referring to the same legend. One of these is preserved in manuscript;* the other was printed in the "Banquet of Music," and has been recently republished with an accompaniment by Dr Cummings.

In the former Euridice, on the eve of her nuptials, tells her joy to a chorus of nymphs who, when she has departed, wait to welcome the great bard. In the latter piece Orpheus, by his songs, opens to Euridice the gates of hell. The two passages are not written in the same key, and in Flatman's works only the words of the latter are printed, so that it is doubtful whether they belonged to the same mask or entertainment. The dialogue between Euridice and the nymphs is tuneful,

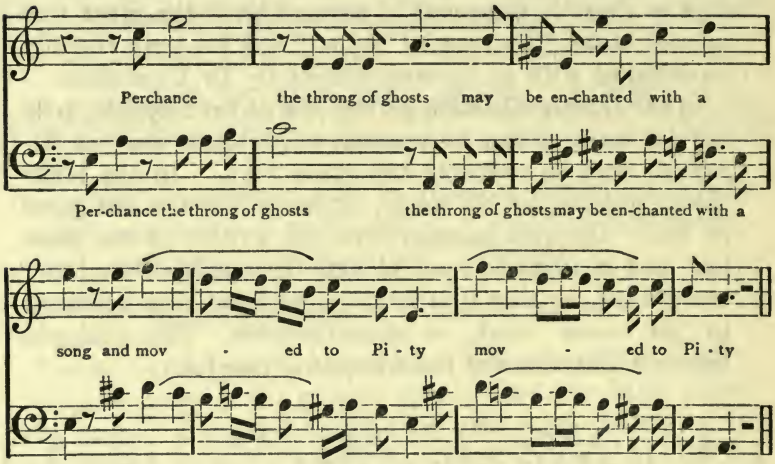


whilst the scene between Orpheus and his wife at the gates of hell sets off the author's dramatic skill.* Orpheus sings:


Eu - ri - dice, my fair, my fair Eu - ri - dice;
My love, my joy, my life.
If so you be in Plu-to's Kingdom answer me, ap-pear and come to thy poor Or-pheus,

* B. M. Add. MSS., 22100.

Euridice's reply is followed by a duet:


Perchance the throng of ghosts may be en-chanted with a
Per-chance the throng of ghosts the throng of ghosts may be en-chanted with a
song and mov - ed to Pi - ty mov - ed to Pi - ty

In the "Amphion" and manuscript collections there also are pieces which apparently belonged to two other entertainments of a distinctly dramatic character, and perhaps alluding to contemporaneous events. The songs, "Philander, do not Seek for Arms," and "And is my Cavalier Returned," refer to the departure to Flanders and return of Myrtilla's young lover, mingling martial tunes with sentimental or passionate passages.

A song of "Sappho to Venus," given as sung by "The Boy at Drury Lane," and a dialogue between the goddess and the poetess, are an interesting study in infatuation and burning passion, wherein rapid modulations, long flourishes, and the obstinate repetition of words such as "see, see, see," etc., express the tumult of a distressed soul, though not excluding tunefulness.

Of all Blow's contributions to the stage the most important is his mask, "Venus and Adonis." A brief analysis of the play will show how Blow understood dramatic music.

As in the case of most masks, the scheme is very simple and leaves all the more scope for musical developments. After a prologue in praise of love, the love of Venus and Adonis and the manly pleasures of the hunt are contrasted. In the second act, action is suspended; we behold a picture of Venus and Cupids and attend a set of dances. In the third act dramatic interest is concentrated on the death of Adonis, wounded by a boar.

After an overture for strings in the French style, with slow movements at the beginning and end, the prologue, which practically amounts to a first act, shows Cupid with bow and arrows surrounded by a chorus of shepherds and shepherdesses. The solos of Cupid and a shepherd, and their conversation on the love of courtiers and of swains, are mainly of that discursive and satirical kind which was so fashionable at the time and not over favourable to musical interpretation. They are happily interrupted by a shepherdess and the chorus, whose last song, "In These Sweet Groves Love is not Taught," is airy and and graceful. The composition could scarcely be more simple and symmetric, each of the three parts being composed of a recitative followed by a short solo tune which the chorus repeats, the whole ending with Cupid's dance. The orchestral part is not more complex, two violins and a viola accompanying each chorus; but a flute is not inappropriately introduced to support the shepherdess's first solo, "Come Shepherds All."

A love dialogue between Venus and Adonis, interrupted by huntsmen's music, a discussion as to whether Adonis will or will not join the hunt, two choruses of huntsmen with intervening alto solo, and a final huntsman's dance—such is the first act. It manifests an interesting effort to oppose and combine the lovers' songs and the sounds of the boar hunt. The author does not think of making use of horns, but the first love-scene is introduced by flutes, and a flute supports here and there

Venus' voice, whereas the hunters' music is performed by a trio of strings as well as the final dance-tune. The description of the hunt is not very exciting, but the hunters' tune that interrupts the lovers is of a festive and lively character, suggestive of a rapid pursuit and distant calls, and the tune sung by Venus, inviting Adonis to join the hunt is a trumpet tune, thus blending together the two contrasted features of the act. The dramatic character of the scene is also emphasised by blending the two parts at the close of the dialogue. The concluding " entry " is also narrowly linked to the earlier portion of the act by the repetition in a slightly altered form of the first bars of the merry hunters' tune.

In the Cupids' lesson of the second act, Venus and Cupid indulge more than ever in discoursing on love, but the Cupids' musical spelling of the word MERCENARY enlivens the protracted satire. Conversation becomes more animated at the end when the little Cupids repeat the last phrase of Cupid's discourse and are interrupted by Venus. After the Cupids' not very light dance, the three-part chorus of Graces, accompanied by violin and viola, is well introduced by solo and duet passages. According to the British Museum manuscript the music of the Graces' dances consists of an ordinary suite in the French style with the more rapid movement, a gavotte, in the middle, but when the curtain closes it is immediately followed by a ground in the same key. The whole with the slow saraband as medium movement, and the more imaginative and architectonic " ground " as finale, thus forms a pretty complete and well-balanced composition.

The third and last act is the most interesting from the purely dramatic point of view. Here we find that emotional recitative of which there are such beautiful examples in the sacred music of the school, with the difference that here the histrionic purpose does not clash with

the theological spirit. The solemn act-tune, the forebodements of Venus, the arrival of wounded Adonis, and the lovers' dialogue, lead to the death of Adonis in a well-contrived crescendo of musical emotion. The funeral chorus prepared by Venus's solo is the most complex of the mask, but owing, perhaps, to the subject, or because it represents Blow's earlier manner, does not offer the same intricacies as many of Blow's concluding choruses.

When we recall to our mind that, with Matthew Locke's " Psyche," " Venus and Adonis " is one of the first attempts of the kind, we cannot but be struck, in spite of its simplicity, by the dramatic propensities of the musician, and the ease with which he has outlined an operatic play wherein music is awarded the most prominent part.

CHAPTER II

THE ODES

WHEREAS only fragments of the school's dramatic music are available, excepting "Venus and Adonis," we find in their odes complete works which are of great interest from the standpoint of composition. Though lyrical poetry usually offers less variety, the musician may still discover many opportunities for the exercise of his skill in dramatic expression, and, thanks to the predominant part awarded music in such works, we could not find a better field for the study of the essential characteristics of the school.

It is natural that these odes, which are occasionally semi-religious, should resemble the contemporary anthems as to their general structure, but being exempt from the exigencies and restrictions of theologism they leave the musician a free hand in developing his histrionic or descriptive propensities.

Like the anthem, the ode includes vocal and instrumental music, solos, duets, trios, quartets, choruses, accompanied or unaccompanied, symphonies, and ritornellos. But here tuneful melodies and dance-music are given a prominent part as befitting secular festivals and entertainments.

We shall distinguish three sorts of odes: the public odes composed for the King, a number of odes of a private or semi-official character, and, finally, the odes for the music festival of St Cecilia, which are worthy of a separate study.

Public life was the occasion of many musical compositions; a New Year's gathering at Court, the Sovereign's birthday, his return to town, a happy political event, were celebrated by odes. Some noblemen and even corporations, anxious to copy the Court, strove to enhance the brilliancy of their entertainments by having special odes composed and performed.

The Purcell Society has published many odes by Purcell to Charles II., James II., Queen Mary, the Duke of Gloucester, and one for the Yorkshire Festival. But Humfrey, Blow, Turner, and Tudway have also left a large number of such works. No fewer than ten New Year and birthday odes by Blow are recorded for years 1681, 1683, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1693, 1694, 1700. We find two by Humfrey, three by Turner, and one by Tudway.

Very few of these works were printed, but many have been preserved in manuscript, the most valuable collection being in the British Museum.*

Official works of art executed to order are often painfully lacking in true artistic beauty, and these odes are not exempt from the unæsthetic conventionality of officialdom. But the situation was different from what it is to-day. The Court of the Merry Monarch was more like a court of love than a centre of political life. Charles II. had brought over the manners and occupations of the Court of Louis XIV., whilst leaving in the background all governmental cares. Charles II. was above all a manager of gay parties, entertainments, and concerts, and those musicians and poets whose office it was to glorify his reign looked upon him almost as one of their company, as a leader of artists rather than a leader of men. When he was addressed as Apollo it was rather as the God of Art than the Sun Monarch. The contrast between reality and the allegorical homages paid was less

* Add. MSS., 33287.

great, not because these were more real, but because the Court was less. It is easier to turn a king into song when he is already somewhat of an opera king. Moreover, his misfortunes, struggles, exile, and restoration conferred on him a romantic character which is lacking in modern statesmen, and was carefully emphasised by admirers and panegyrists.

But the authors of odes also sought elsewhere for inspiration, and gave a far broader scope to their subject. Being performed on New Year's Day or in April, the odes refer mainly to the birth of the year or the return of spring, and indirectly lead to the expression of human feelings connected with the great changes of man's earthly surroundings, fear, regret, hope, melancholy, joy, etc. The King's personality is sacrificed for the metaphorical Sun which imperceptibly becomes the real object of the praise and thanksgiving, and the musician may devote himself to the glorification of Nature.

Some of these odes, especially those designed for the King's birthday in April, are elegant, graceful, and of a distinctly pastoral character, whilst others, amongst which are many New Year's odes, assume a grander, more dramatic, and solemn tone, sometimes bordering on a cosmogonic evocation. This we say rather of the music than the poem which, as a rule, is a very poor production, when it is not grotesque. In one of Blow's odes we are informed that Father Janus "with a loyal address is come post-haste to present the King with the maidenhead of a New Year." But musicians are not often disturbed by words, and the best operas have sometimes deplorable libretti.

Like the anthems, these odes represent the two phases of the history of the school. Those by Humfrey and his follower, Turner, are comparatively short and simple; those by Blow, excepting a few which are probably

amongst the earliest, are elaborate and complex compositions.

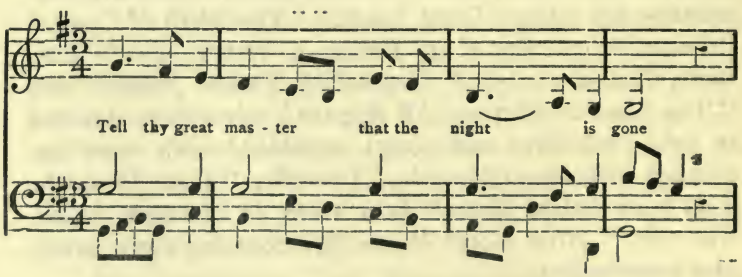
An opening symphony in two movements, followed by a bass solo, two or three other solo tunes, usually repeated by a chorus, and finally a trio of men's voices continued and developed by a four-part chorus—such is the very simple arrangement of Humfrey's odes. They contain good instances of his instrumental music and some very tuneful melodies. There is some unity in the whole, the set of songs with short choruses marking a sort of progression from the instrumental opening to the choral finale.

Turner follows much the same plan, but introduces a little more variety, adding trios and choruses with new tunes. The pastoral style so familiar to him is again prominent in these works.

Blow, starting from the simple scheme set down by Humfrey, gradually transformed it, as Purcell did, in order to open a broader field to his genius, and made use of the ode for its most varied manifestations. These works show the extent of his creative powers. He treats his ungrateful subject in many different ways. Some odes are more choral and contain very complex ensembles in five and sometimes six parts. Such are, for instance, the odes, " Great Janus," " The Birth of Love," " Great Sir, the Joy of All Hearts." Others, on the contrary, like the odes, " Dread Sir, Father Janus," and " The Sons of Phœbus All Appear," are chiefly devoted to solo recitatives and songs, combined with more developed instrumental music. The ode, " How Does the New-born Infant Year," is a study in two-part songs. The ode, " Arise Great Monarch," contains more extensive symphonies.

On closer examination the variety in the treatment of the same subject will appear. One of the most interesting of these works as setting forth the author's good

qualities as well as his imperfections is the ode of 1683, "My Trembling Song Awake, Arise." Taking advantage of every line which he parsimoniously follows or extends indefinitely by repetition, according to his own musical conception, he turns the quaint poem into a song of fear and wavering hope, of peaceful trust and triumphant joy, which evokes beyond the official tribute to the King a picture of vanishing night, dawn, and sunrise.

The defects are obvious; the flourishes on the word "trembling" are too conspicuously descriptive, and towards the close the enemy, who tumbles headlong down, is too suggestive of a clown rolling downstairs. It is also rather bewildering to hear a mixture of Greek and Hebrew festive cries, in the "Io Paean" and "Hosanna, Allelujah" of the last chorus. But the words are more troublesome than the music; suppress the objectionable words and there remains a remarkable attempt to arouse and evolve varied emotions. After the usual symphony, the "Trembling Song," in four and then six parts, passing through a few modulations from the minor to the major key, and illuminated as it proceeds by a phrase of hope, "Awake, arise," is very happily followed by a tuneful and soothing alto solo:

The chorus, "He Smiles on Every Hill," preceded and followed by a symphony, prolongs the soothing effect of the solo whilst introducing a note of nascent joy. The

trio, "Tell Him Apollo Greets Him Well," and the sextet, "Tell Him a Crown of Thorns," prepare, by adding to the joyful greeting, the memory of past woes and fears, the outburst of enthusiasm expressed in the quartet and chorus, "Call Loud for Songs of Triumph."

This last part is suggestive of a solemn apotheosis. Preceded by a chorus wherein the voices move together in a rhythmical procession of chords, the fine recitative, "Rise, Mighty Monarch, and Ascend," sounds like the proclamation of a herald standing before the hero's throne, or (if our attention is drawn to the symbolism of the work) of an angel announcing the triumph of the Sun. The last piece, commencing with a trio, "With Awful Reverence They Adore Him," and continuing with an "Alleujah," first in six and then in four parts, recalls by the intricacies of its interwoven voices a large crowd of worshippers. In order to secure the desired effect Blow is not afraid of jumbling up all the words together and making the parts cross one another in the most heedless fashion. We also notice in the course of the work general modulations which contribute to the effect. In the sextet, "Tell Him a Crown of Thorns," we pass from the key of G major to C, and again in the recitative, "Rise Mighty Monarch," to E, returning to G major in the last piece.

Comparison with a few other odes will show how different an interpretation Blow could give of the same subject.

In the ode, "Hail, Mighty Monarch," with two solos and two choruses forming the first part, Blow expresses feelings which may be summarised by the line—

"Awake from love's and beauty's charms."

In a duet and chorus he finds grander strains to sing of the monarch's power spreading over the world. A solo, bass duet, and chorus in A minor lead up to the triumphal

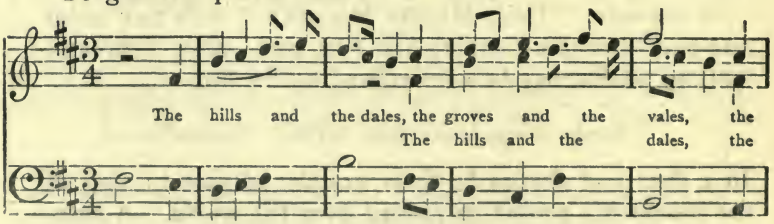
song and accompanied chorus performed in the original key, C major.

The ode to James II., "The Sons of Phœbus All Appear," was written for two celebrated singers, the counter-tenor, Abel, and the bass, Gossling; the composer therefore awarded the largest possible share to solo and two-part singing, though without suppressing the usual choruses. The first part mainly referring to the New Year and music contains a remarkable chorus and tuneful alto solo accompanied by flutes, "All that Gently Touch the String." Prepared by a soft alto solo, "What Shall I Play," a long duet by the two singers glorifies the King and is continued by a fine bass solo. The last part, in which the praise of Gloriana (the Queen) is sung by Abel, the hope of an heir to the throne is expressed by a duet. It opens with a more developed symphony than usual and a complex and florid trio, and concludes with a brilliant five-part chorus.

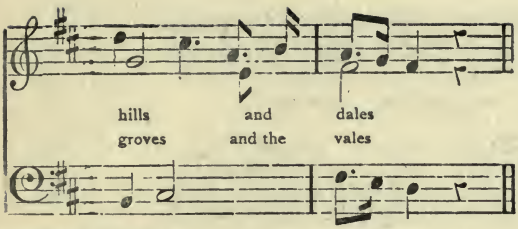
The person of William III. called for more warlike odes. Stafford Smith has preserved a fine martial chorus from a New Year's ode performed during William's campaign in Flanders. The "Amphion" also contains passages from odes to William and Mary.

In a tuneful ode in praise of peace preserved in the British Museum,* ("Hail, Hail Thou Infant Year,") touches of this warlike spirit are happily mingled with very charming lyricism.

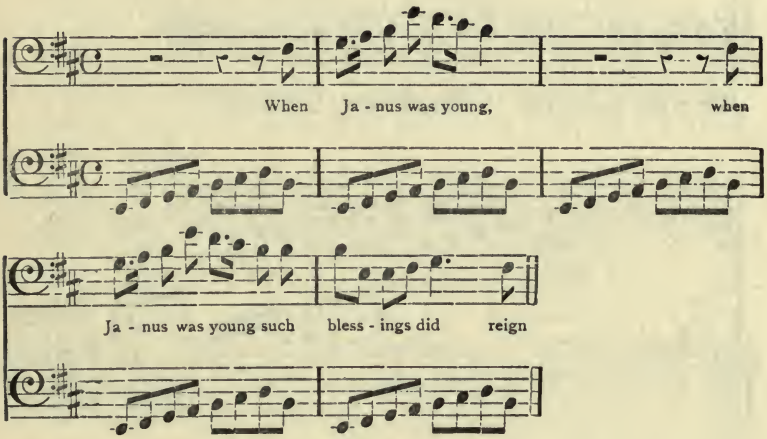
To graceful pieces such as the duet



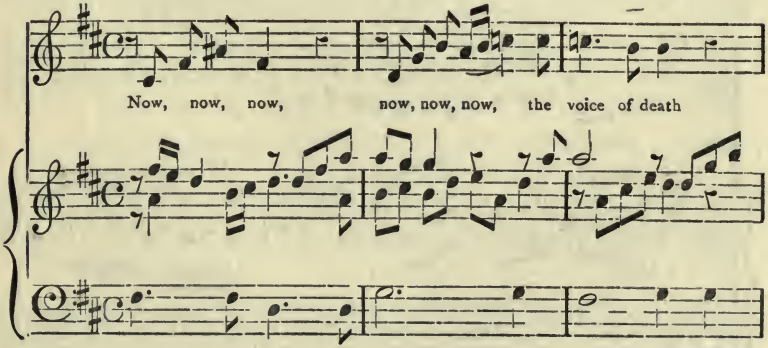
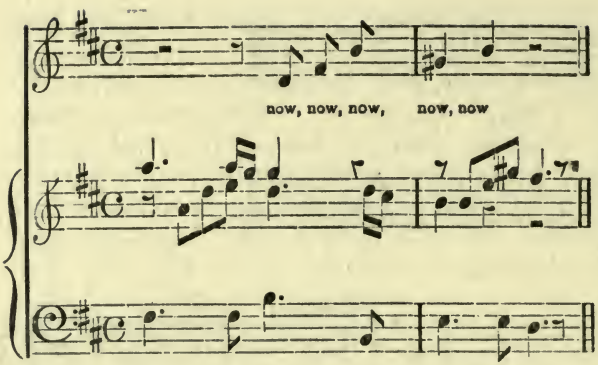
* Add. MSS., 31457.

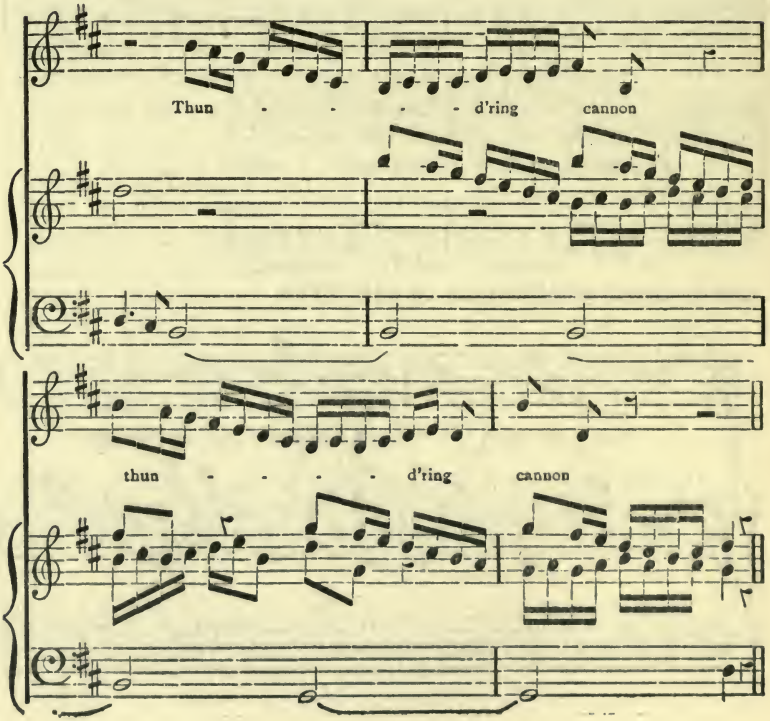


and the solo :



are opposed recollections of past strife,



We also hear the "Thundering Cannon."*

These illustrations will suffice, we hope, to give an idea of such compositions and of the way they were treated by Blow, ever endeavouring to preserve unity and a continuous evolution of emotions, whilst varying the details as far as the means then available made it possible.

Blow also composed a number of odes which were not for the Court, being designed for various special occasions, such as a birthday, a marriage, a death.

Two martial songs are to be found, one in the "Amphion," "A Prince so Young," the other in the "Jovial Companions," "And Now the Duke's March," which apparently belong to an ode or odes to the Duke of Gloucester.

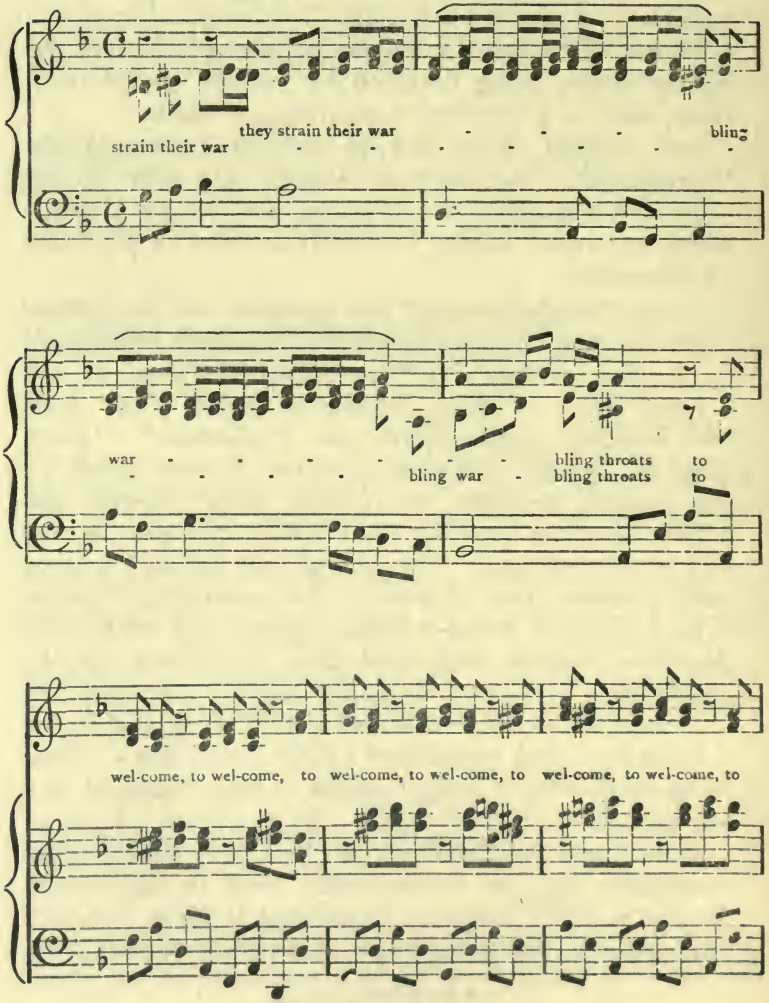
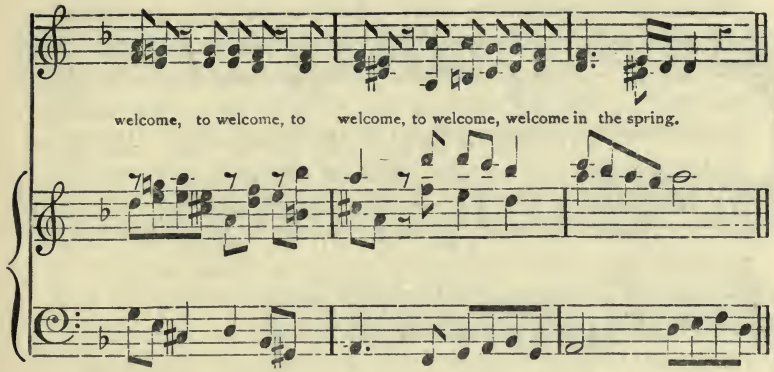
In the British Museum* is a graceful and lively marriage ode, which was performed "at the York buildings." It is also printed in three separate pieces in the "Amphion": "Bring, Shepherds, Bring Your Kids and Lambs," "The Rites are Performed," "Sing, Sing ye Muses." Special attention is here given to the general structure, the prelude with trumpets and violins and the opening duet being repeated at the end of the first part. The second part includes a tenor solo between two choruses, the concluding chorus, "Io Triumph," being a brisk, joyous tune with rapid flourishes happily supported here and there by the orchestra.

A piece in the same style and same key, printed in the "Amphion" and republished by Mr Arkwright, "Shepherds Deck Your Crooks," seems to have belonged to a similar ode.

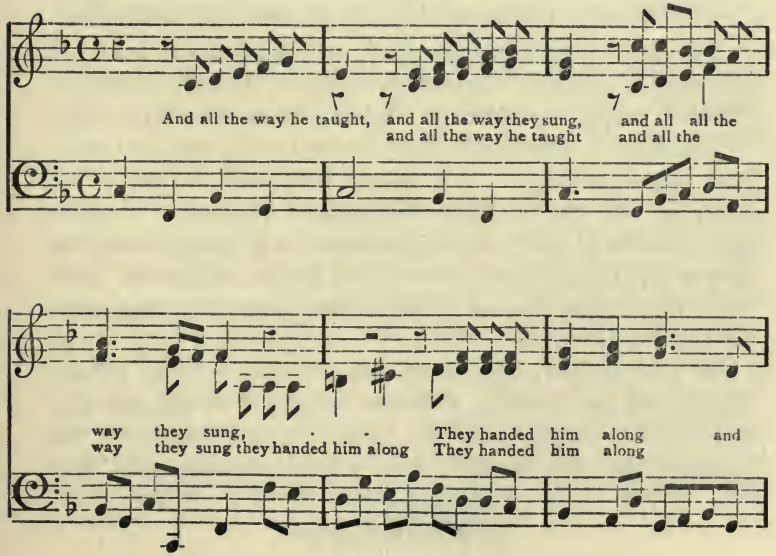
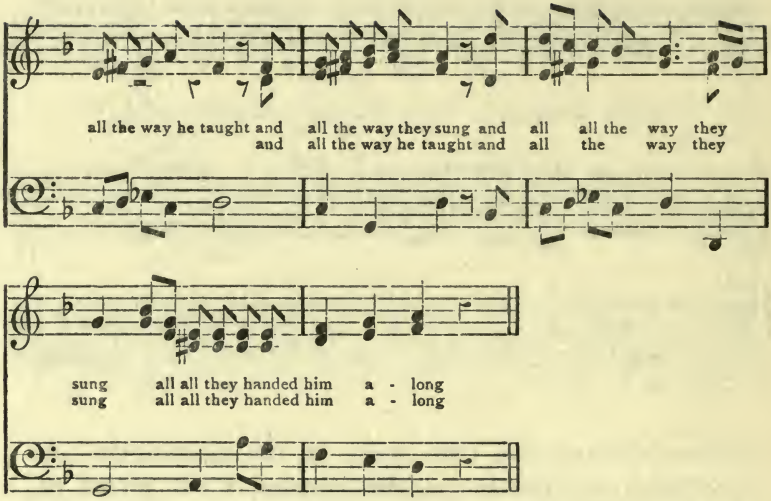
Blow's ode on the death of Purcell is rather more remarkable for its workmanship than its inspiration. Dryden's words, comparing musicians to birds, naturally appealed to the composer's descriptive tastes; long

* Add. MSS., 31452.

flourishes and groups of three notes in countermeasure recall the warbling and twittering of birds.



After this rises the pure song of the nightingale. A succession of ascending scales represents the ascent of the departing songster.


And all the way he taught, and all the way they sung, and all all the
and all the way he taught and all the
way they sung, They handed him along and
way they sung they handed him along They handed him along

all the way he taught and all the way they sung and all all the way they
and all the way he taught and all the way they
sung all all they handed him a - long
sung all all they handed him a - long

At the close the musician strives to translate the mingling of joy and sorrow expressed by Dryden's lines:

"Ye brothers lament his lot, but at your own rejoice."

To these miscellaneous odes may be added, more on account of its form than of the subject, Blow's setting of David's song to Michol, taken from Cowley's epic, "Davideis." Printed in the "Theater of Music" without accompaniment, this piece is to be found in its entirety in the British Museum.* Formed of solos and choruses, with accompaniment and symphonies for strings, it follows pretty well by a series of tuneful melodies the various shades of hope and melancholy expressed by the lover's song.

In the British Museum† we find two long pieces, beginning the former with the words, "Welcome, welcome every guest," and the latter with the words, "The nymphs of the wells," the whole opening and con-

* Add. MSS.
† Add. MSS., 31452.

cluding in the same key. They probably formed part of the same work. In the index they are both included under the name, "Blow's Opera." The text shows they both refer to an annual festival. They also are both animated with a patriotic feeling, the former praising the English trumpet above all instruments (a peculiar taste if this is not merely symbolical), and the latter calling for Jove's blessings over the British Isle. We do not know on what grounds it has been assumed that the former piece, which also serves in a somewhat altered form as an introduction to the "Amphion," was a short ode composed for St Cecilia's Day at the same time as Blow's anthem in 1693. St Cecilia is not mentioned as she always is in such odes, and the poem, which is usually a lengthy composition, is here reduced to a few lines. Moreover, in another volume of the British Museum MSS.* this piece is followed by a birthday ode to William IV., "Welcome, Genial Day," in the same key and much the same style. We believe the three pieces formed part of an entertainment for the King's birthday in November, 1697; the last part appears to refer to the Peace of Ryswick, while the second part celebrates the planting of a Royal Oak performed "twice four years" previously, meaning, no doubt, the accession of William and Mary.

This is a most interesting work. The first piece, or prologue, awards a prominent part to instrumental music with something of an attempt at orchestral colour. The words are few and often repeated. The opening solo is taken up by the chorus and recurs six times with variations. It is a trumpet tune and confers on the whole a joyous and martial character. The orchestra accompanies solos and choruses, and is narrowly intermixed with the medium tenor solo, "The Sacred Nine Observe the Mode." Sometimes trumpets and violins play

* Add MSS., 31457.

together, sometimes violins begin and are later supported by trumpets; a flute also intervenes. As a whole the design is clear, without stiffness or monotony.

In the second piece only three violins are used, and the singing is accompanied by an ordinary bass. The flowing duets and solos of nymphs are interrupted by the solemn invocations of two druids, and the piece ends with a graceful dancing chorus in five parts: "We Nymphs of the Founts." In the last piece the word "Welcome" is again set to a lively trumpet tune and the strings play an important part.

The St Cecilia odes should be considered separately, not only as representing a distinct class of works but as being specially connected with the growth of Cooke's school. The history of the festival, wherein our composers played so prominent a part, is in itself a striking illustration of the general truths set forth by the study of the Restoration musicians.

The festival of St Cecilia in England differed in many respects from the celebrations performed in other countries in honour of the patroness of music. The yearly entertainment organised at Evreux at the end of the sixteenth century by the "Puy de Musique" was always connected with the Church; originally a religious festival, it never lost that character even when prizes for both sacred and secular compositions were instituted. In England, on the contrary, it originated in a purely secular entertainment. Before a yearly festival was instituted on St Cecilia's Day, there already were musical feasts such as those mentioned by Pepys, the Stationers' Hall being often resorted to. In such gatherings Captain Cooke used to sing and play the theorbo. A song and chorus by Pelham Humfrey ("How well doth this Harmonious Meeting Prove,") have been preserved which apparently were performed on such an occasion.

In the " Amphion Anglicus " we find a similar song, " Employed all the Day Still in Publick."

The convivial character of these short pieces shows the spirit of such gatherings.

A music society was formed, and in 1683 a yearly celebration instituted on the day of St Cecilia or as near the 22nd of November as possible. It may even be questioned whether this was the first time such a date was selected for a musical festival. It may not be owing to a mere coincidence that the libretto of the " First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House " (1657) bears the date 22nd November, and it was also on that day that, according to Pepys, violins were introduced at the Chapel Royal.

Though carried out in accordance with a more definite programme, the celebration preserved the general characteristics of the earlier entertainments. Its main features were the performance of a new ode in honour of music and St Cecilia and a feast. It was held almost uninterruptedly every year from 1683 to 1703, after which it was occasionally revived, the last being held in 1800. The meeting-place was for many years the Stationers' Hall. There also were similar festivals in the country, especially at Oxford, but these were not so regular, and the ode performed was often a mere repetition of the ode composed for the London meeting.

The character of the yearly festival did not remain unchanged throughout its comparatively short life. Its alterations corresponded to the phases of the life of English music, itself dependent on social conditions.

Suspended in 1686, probably for special reasons relating to the organisation of the music society, it was again neglected in 1688-89 on account of the Revolution, and then resumed with fresh vigour and success until 1692. But now appears a new character; the effect of the Protestant revolution is beginning to make itself

felt. The official Church, in its general endeavour to recapture all intellectual and æsthetic activity, lays hands on the Festival of St Cecilia; it is preceded by an anthem usually performed at St Bride's Church, and a sermon in defence of Church music. Attention is more and more diverted from the pagan ode to the Christian hymn.

Captain Cooke's pupils took an active part in both phases. The series of purely secular festivals was brilliantly inaugurated in 1683 by Henry Purcell, already regarded as excelling all his contemporaries. Instead of one ode he wrote three short compositions, two in English and one in Latin, the words being by Christopher Fishburn. One of the English odes was published by the society.

In the following year Blow produced a somewhat more extensive composition, which was also printed, John Oldham being responsible for the words. It was performed at the Stationers' Hall, where the festivals continued to be held until 1703.

In 1685 the ode written by Nahum Tate was again entrusted to one of Cooke's pupils, William Turner. The music was not printed and no trace of it can be found. Turner also appeared as a singer at the festival in 1687, when Draghi wrote the music to Dryden's ode, "From Heavenly Harmony."

After the revolution Blow and Purcell gave a fresh impulse to the celebration, the former by setting to music an ode by D'Urfey "The Glorious Day is Come" and the latter, one by Nicholas Brady. Parts of Blow's composition are included in the "Amphion," namely the songs, "Couched by the Pleasant Heliconian Spring," "Ah, Heaven, what is't I Hear!"

Purcell's ode was particularly successful. Turner sang in the performance and Purcell himself sang "with incredible graces," as is said in the "Gentleman's Journal," the second stanza, "'Tis Nature's Voice."

When the anthem and sermon were introduced our three composers, in the same order as they had partaken of the first secular entertainments, supplied the anthems for three years. Purcell's "Te Deum" and "Jubilate in D," composed for 1694, became very popular and are still played. In 1695 Blow also composed a "Te Deum" and "Jubilate," in which Turner sang; in 1696 Turner himself composed the anthem, "The King Shall Rejoice," which Tudway thought worthy of being included in his collection. Thus under the influence of their surroundings the three musicians who first helped to make the secular festival popular strengthened the new current by offering it the assistance of their talent.

To this later form of the festival our lost sheep, Sampson Estwick, also contributed. He did not compose the anthem; he did better still: in 1696 he delivered the sermon at Oxford, and we may regard it as an instructive illustration of such speeches.

Taking as his text the words of St Paul—"Teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord" (Col. iii. 16)—he recalls on behalf of music generally the customs of the Ancients, of the Jewish community, and of the Christian Church. He then proceeds to enlarge on the usefulness of sacred music, and here reappears the enthusiastic pupil of Captain Cooke.

"This exercise, when skilfully manag'd, has a native Puissance and admirable Facility to set off the Matter about which it is Conversant, and make it appear to the best Advantages, so as to render that which in itself is lovely more amiable and more delightful. There are Sounds proper for every Passion, such as can damp you, when your Mirth and Joy begins to be rampant and excessive, such as can raise you when your Spirits are languishing and either the needless Troubles or necessary Cares of Life begin to overset you. Your Hopes shall

be enlarg'd, and by an over-ruling Power of Harmony ye shall be willingly forc'd to part with your unpleasing Thoughts, and to enjoy a Calm at least, if not an Extasie of Rapture when the Poet and Musician have severally discharg'd themselves, according to their different Tasks and Imployments.

"Ev'n the mean empty Trifles of this Life, when cloath'd and adorn'd in proper Words, and harmoniously express'd, are made too lovely and too desirable . . .

"If the bare Matter of our Praises, when attentively read, are so very apt to raise our Affections, and fill our Hearts with Joy, how much is that Joy encreas'd, when melodious Sounds, agreeable to the Matter treated of, give each Word their due force and emphasis, especially when the Composer has an Eye upon the Sense, lays wait upon what is most material, does not clog his Parts with needless Repetitions, but orders his business so that the Hearer shall be little interrupted, but shall follow him with Ease and Pleasure, whilst he raises your Ideals by a just representation of the Subject that lies before him . . .

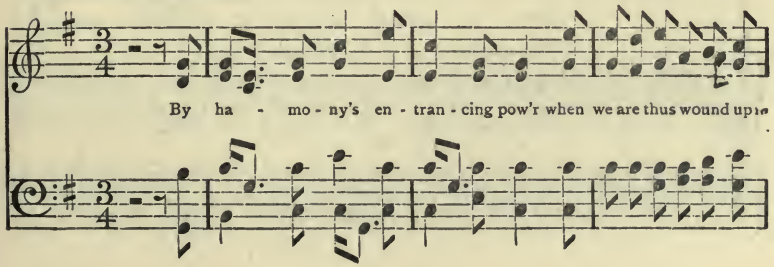
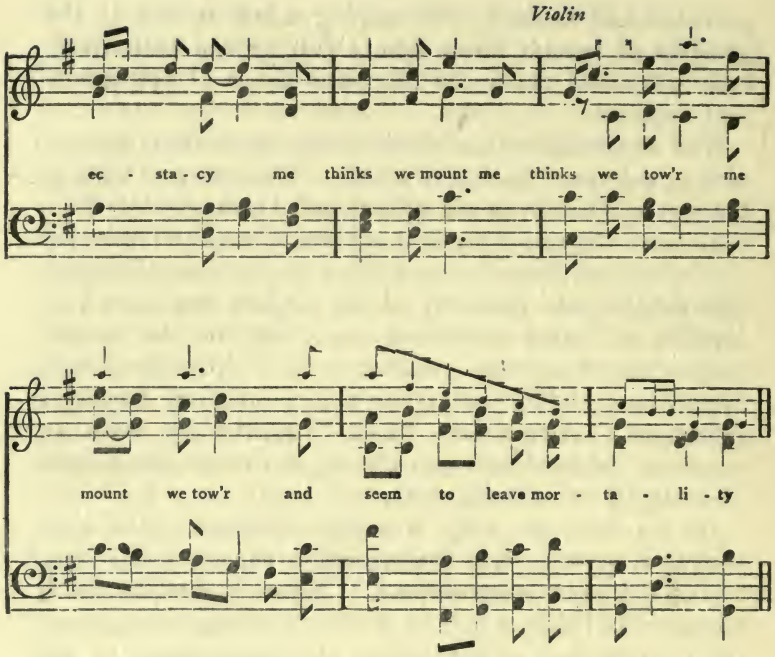
"If sometimes he repeats the more emphatical words of our Psalms and Hymns, you'll excuse him, because the Holy Penmen have done the same before him; and where they have not done it, he does not want an excuse, if, by the variety of the Descant, he gives you a fresh occasion to circumstantiate the Praises of God, and to dwell upon 'em with greater Complacency."

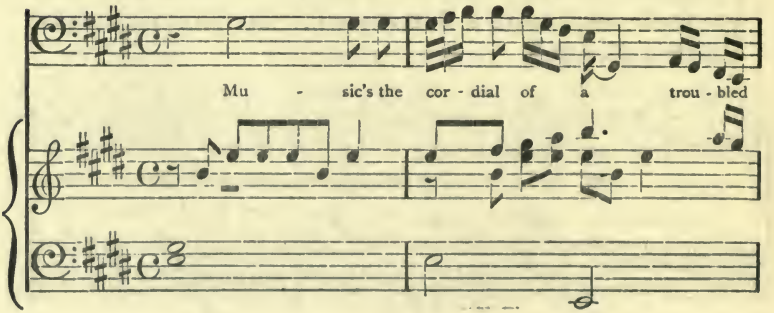
The speaker winds up with the customary criticism of both Catholics and Dissenters, the former seeking only to please the ear, the latter hostile to Church music.

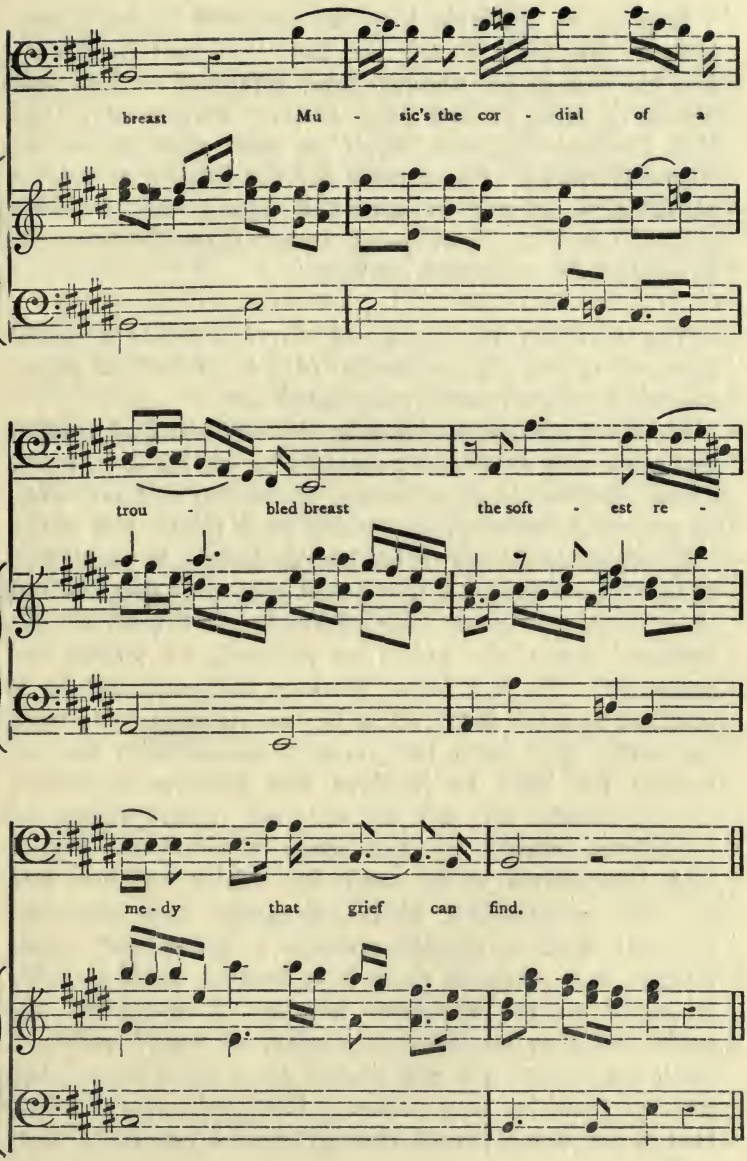
Despite the decline of the secular entertainment, Blow never ceased to take a lively interest in it. The scores of two odes by him have been preserved in manuscript. One was written in 1700 for an ode by D'Urfey; the other he composed a short time before his death to be

performed at Oxford, thus paying a last tribute to the goddess of secular music whose cult he had enthusiastically promoted under the deceptive shape of the canonised organist.

The St Cecilia entertainments were particularly favourable to the emancipation of music. They were at least at the outset free from all official and theological fetters; they were organised by and for musicians, and the way St Cecilia was honoured was more pagan than Christian. The subject was naturally of all subjects the most susceptible of being fashioned according to the special exigencies of musical treatment, and although it was often characterised by rather vague lyricism, Dryden's celebrated "Alexander's Feast," written for such an occasion, shows that it was also open to the introduction of dramatic or epic elements.

Blow's ode for 1683, a more elaborate work than Purcell's, performed in the preceding year, is a fine illustration of such compositions. Some ingeniousness is displayed in the first part to draw interesting effects from the interweaving of the voices, the development by the choruses of the preceding solo tunes, and the combination of choral with instrumental music; the second chorus is often interrupted by the violins, and in one curious passage, "This is music's jubilee," is reduced to the word *this* repeated at intervals, the corresponding chord being developed by the strings. A duet, ritornello and solo gradually lead up to a fine chorus, "By Harmony's Entrancing Power."

The brilliant concluding chorus is preceded by an interesting bass solo accompanied by violins:




breast Mu - sic's the cor - dial of a
trou - bled breast the soft - est re -
me - dy that grief can find.

It is to be regretted that the music of Turner's ode, "Tune the Viol, Touch the Lute," cannot be found. But the words by Nahum Tate, referring to kids and lambkins, nymphs and jolly swains, show that it had that pastoral character which we have often noticed in Turner's works. His anthem for the festival of 1696 is particularly secular in spirit; it opens with a lively prelude which may perhaps give some idea of the manner in which he treated such subjects.

The study of the works of Captain Cooke's school leaves us under the impression of the sudden and vigorous display of a newly emancipated art.

First Humphrey, assisted by a keen sense of rhythm and a mastery of harmony remarkable for his time, introduces his sociable elegance and precocious understanding of dramatic music, often writing both words and tunes.

Blow, who, thanks to his longer career, is enabled to develop more fully the movement started at the Restoration, gradually spreads his efforts in all directions. No difficulty seems too great, no thought, no feeling too unmusical. He has found his own language and he is resolved to make it tell all he has on his mind. No rules can deter him from his pursuit; counterpoint has no terrors for him; he fashions and develops according to his needs the art of the old madrigalists; he modulates, breaks up the scale, accumulates sounds and interweaves parts until he thinks he has told all the complexities of his thoughts and emotions. He can write a tuneful melody, a grave and simple chorus, but when he does it is because such a device is suited to the situation, because it represents one aspect of that multifarious reality he would embrace. Such aspirations are not limited to musical form; they proceed from his very nature. His works reveal a soul that is anxious to break through all the fetters of theo-

logism and express life in its fullness and luxuriant beauty.

There is something too reckless and premature in so bold an attempt, something too intellectual and deliberate in this effort to turn everything into song. When a language which is not yet sufficiently formed and digested is made to express too much, it becomes too personal and only intelligible to its author. But in spite of its prematureness, such an outburst remains attractive and deserves our admiration. The eagerness of the endeavour sometimes makes up for the imperfect means, and we come upon passages which bear the stamp of true inspiration. We feel it is the same breath of freedom and emancipation, the same consciousness of man's beauty and power, the same love of all real beings and things, which under the impulse of the French Revolution gave birth to a number of remarkable poets. But such a revival has been as yet too limited and too weak to wake up the lute that was silenced for many a generation by the triumph of Protestantism.

CONCLUSION

In the dedication of the "Amphion Anglicus" to Princess Anne of Denmark, Blow writes:

"Lest a Work of this Nature, tho' perhaps not blameable in itself, either for the Matter, or the manner of it, should however seem to fall below what is due to Your Royal Highness's Greatness of Mind, and consummate Vertue: Give me leave, Madame, to tell you, I am preparing as fast as I can to make some amends for this, by a Second Musical Present, upon Arguments incomparably better: I mean my Church Services and Divine Compositions.

"To those, in truth, I have ever more especially consecrated the Thoughts of my whole Life. All the rest I consider but as the Blossoms or rather the Leaves; these I only esteem as the Fruits of all my Labours in this Kind. With them I began my first Youthful Raptures in this Art: With them I hope calmly and comfortably to finish my days."

Blow, like his contemporary Racine and many others at a time when God and the world were still irreconcilable, shows in this passage that he believes he should now work out his salvation. But it does not only apply to his own life, it describes the life of music in England beginning with the "youthful raptures" of Church music, and "with them calmly and comfortably finishing its days." Thanks to the efforts of Cooke's pupils, and also a few others who would no doubt be worthy of a similar study, music began to free itself from the fetters

of theologism, and again died away when theologism was revived in its most unæsthetic form.

Some English writers might oppose so sweeping a statement, nor do we contend there is absolutely nothing of interest in English music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; but it were difficult to deny that it is generally lacking in true inspiration and originality, and is at each stage of its development far behind the great works produced on the Continent.

We would therefore try to explain by a few general considerations the change we believe took place after the Revolution of 1688, thus setting forth the sociological lesson which may be drawn from our study.

Completeness and sociability are two important factors in art. No art can be said to have attained its full growth until it is able to express all human passions. Any limitation in this respect leads to scantiness and monotony. On the other hand, the inordinate display of all natural inclinations is destructive of art; they should be harmoniously subordinated to man's higher propensities, a fundamental condition of beauty in any æsthetic work. However low and hideous some of the instincts expressed or described, the preponderant feelings aroused should be social, such an object being reached either overtly by the picture of a beautiful character or indirectly by suggestions of sympathy.

But the artist cannot consciously apply such principles. He should feel within himself all the passions he would depict, and be spontaneously inclined to raise above them those social tendencies which shed light and beauty over every life. This he can only acquire by those habits of social intercourse which regulate without any artificial effort the individual's lower propensities and enable him calmly to look into and openly to acknowledge them; he should be natural, he should be a man with all man's baseness and greatness, an animal and a social being.

The artist should first live the conditions of his art, and he should depict himself as such. An artist's life should be his first work of art.

Such conditions imply a not unimportant element of artistic life—*mirth*. Laughter, as Rabelais says, is the special gift of man, because it is the expression of intense social life. Neither the hermit nor the inveterate debauchee really know how to laugh; real mirth is the privilege of those sociable beings who are sinners, who know they are, and are not afraid of saying so, but in the higher pleasures of social intercourse and sincere affections constantly meet with an unperceived check on their lower inclinations.

This, it seems, is true of music more than of any other art. The beauty of a poem is partly made of the beauty of the ideas expressed and their arrangement. The value of a picture may partly lie in the representation of beings and things as they appear externally. But music especially when purely instrumental derives all its beauty from the emotions it arouses, from their variety and intenseness, their conflicts and combinations, their subordination to one another, the complexity of their progress. In poetry or painting a passion may be to some extent described from without, although a too objective attitude is bound to lead to failure. But a musician must commit himself more fully; if he expresses any feeling he has to give it as his own; there is no eluding his responsibilities. Nor can he create such a disposition the moment he sets to work; it must be the habitual disposition of his everyday life.

At the time of the Restoration the prevailing spirit we have described was pre-eminently favourable to the free display of such tendencies. Still it would not explain the suddenness and transitoriness of the musical movement. This explanation we should seek for in the growth and final triumph of Protestantism, at least as understood in

England. We speak more specially of British Protestantism because German Protestantism, which developed under very different circumstances, is animated with a different spirit and never permeated the German States to the same extent.

We have tried to show elsewhere* that monotheism and even theologism generally are unfavourable to art. But Roman Catholicism by many heterogeneous additions overstepped its narrow monotheistic creed and gave birth to a very fine though inevitably restricted artistic movement. Protestantism, by reverting to the original faith, revived all the unæsthetic tendencies of absolute monotheism; but it did still worse (and this is more particularly though not exclusively the case in England) by its individualism.

Although the contemplation of a perfect being leads to asceticism which is destructive of all æsthetic pleasures, the moral consequences of monotheism may be and have been greatly extenuated by feelings of solidarity amongst the members of the Church, such as were cultivated by Catholicism. Relying on a moral élite to uphold as far as possible on earth the absolute ideal of godliness, the pious Roman Catholic, whilst endeavouring to live up to his principles, feels free to be a man, to be a sinner, and does not hesitate openly to acknowledge his failings. Such a feeling may, of course, lead to deliberate immorality, but when controlled by education and the general environment, it goes as a rule no further than the introducing into practice of a rational relativity which is lacking in theory; it allows the harmonious display of all human inclinations, substitutes the calm subordination of selfish instincts for their violent, artificial suppression, gives free scope to sincerity, tenderness, and art.

On the contrary, Protestant individualism making each

* Les Règles Esthétiques et les Lois du Sentiment.

man entirely responsible for his conduct and feelings, proclaiming him sole representative and guardian of his ideals, to infringe them is to alter and belittle them. By this secularisation of the monastic spirit Protestantism has created an impossible situation. If the monk or the priest who spend their life in prayer may to some extent draw near the ascetic ideal of monotheism, it is quite inaccessible to those who must battle with the difficulties of active life and are exposed to the temptations of social intercourse. Hence a deplorable hypocrisy which many Protestants are hardly accountable for, as they cannot lay before others weaknesses they dare not confess to themselves. If they fail, their ideals are lost; to own their failure is to disown their ideals. Although the Protestant may acknowledge in a general way his sinfulness, this concerns only his personal relation to God; in this world and in others' eyes he is God's representative, and a sin is a betrayal.

Of course this is but the logical consequence of Protestantism, and the human heart is above logics when the premises are wrong. But so long as Protestant beliefs were strong their moral consequences weighed heavily on every life; the somewhat more normal development of human nature noticeable in England to-day is due to the weakening of Christianity and ascetic ideals.

Narrowly linked to Protestant individualism is the excessive reserve of the average Englishman. He shirks society and hardly knows how to join in a conversation. His emotions, which he is thus unaccustomed to express and compare with those of other men, grow so strong, so deep, so absorbing, that he is afraid of them, and when he does let them loose is generally unable to control them. A man needs a good deal of intercourse with his fellowmen to understand he is neither a monster nor a genius.

How could art flourish under such conditions?

The Protestant spirit did not grow all at once. A long growth is necessary before so artificial a tendency can transform the character of a whole nation. English Protestantism may be traced as far back as Wiclef and the Lollards, but the first adhesions to the doctrine and general standpoint preceded by several centuries the full development and national adoption of the corresponding spirit. This we can only date from the Revolution of 1688, which, owing to a remarkable concourse of social forces, suddenly fixed tendencies which so far had been latent and discarded by many. The foundation of the Anglican Church was political, whilst the Cromwellian movement, although making use of certain Calvinistic aspirations, was far from promoting the spirit which developed after the revolution, especially owing to the Wesleyan movement. The revival of semitic monotheism by Cromwell and his Independents was little more than a social device to combat the Catholic Church and overthrow the monarchy without benefiting the Lords. Its main result was to secure the personal rule of a popular dictator inspired by lofty moral principles. Puritanism for these sworn enemies of Presbyterianism remained a principle of public life and did not radically alter the customs of the people. Asceticism, upheld by the Calvinistic adherents to the revolution, did not prevent the nation from enjoying life almost as fully and being almost as merry as in Elizabethan days.

On the contrary, as is natural at a time of revolution and political instability, it seems morality was rather lax under the Commonwealth. Making allowance for the slanderous charges of the royalists and the holy indignation of staunch Protestants, the general picture of society left by contemporaries was anything but puritanical. We may reasonably suspect royalist gossip about Cromwell's mistresses and his daughter's misconduct, but the most trustworthy accounts show that even the leaders

were by no means averse to social mirth and æsthetic enjoyment. The suppression of religious ceremonies and destruction of organs in churches were part of the monotheistic scheme. But festivities and musical entertainments in secular life were encouraged; Cromwell had his own musicians.

John Milton, who is regarded as embodying Puritanism, never lost the humanistic tendencies of his earlier works. A Polytheist in spite of himself, he gives life to the fallen angels; at times Satan is almost sympathetic, so beautiful is his pride. Milton's fetishistic love for Nature makes us forget God in his descriptions of Paradise. His idealisation of private life confers a touch of beauty and holiness on all human inclinations. The following passage could hardly be called ascetic:

> Nor turn'd I ween
> Adam from his fair spouse, nor Eve the rites
> Mysterious of connubial love refused:
> Whatever hypocrites austerely talk
> Of purity, and place, and innocence;
> Defaming as impure what God declares
> Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all.
>
> —*Paradise Lost*, Bk. iv.

When we realise the comparatively recent growth of the Puritanic spirit in England, the history of English music becomes more intelligible.

When at the close of the Middle Ages art began to disengage itself from Catholic worship, the movement first made itself felt in poetry and art properly so-called, the reform of music requiring a more thorough change in the feelings and social conditions. England was not long before she joined in the work of emancipation; the names of Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare are a sufficient proof of her progressiveness. In the seventeenth century the Protestant current was not yet strong enough to prevent her joining the musical movement of the world, and she worked as energetically as any at the secularisation of music, but the Protestant tide was at

that very moment rapidly rising, and the revolution of 1688 put a check not only on her musical but on her dramatic genius.

The country's energies were more and more absorbed by commerce and industry, the only form of social life fully compatible with Protestantism. England still contributed to the theoretic evolution because her theorists were stimulated by continental thought and could more easily rise above their surroundings. But the æsthetic genius needs a more immediate stimulus. The musical section of the people had to be content with foreign inspiration. Even this was forced by the prevailing disposition into the hybrid form of the oratorio which only a very great genius powerful enough to draw encouragement from difficulty could turn to account. Protestantism could not entirely keep back the æsthetic under-current. But it seems it only reappeared in the form of restricted and ephemeral "schools," having but few connections with the life of the nation, drawing inspiration from the Continent, and often more appreciated abroad than at home. If art and poetry can be content with such slender support, music is more exacting and has not yet recovered from the blow it received of the Protestant outburst.

Although prophecies in such matters are preposterous, it may be noticed that there are at least in London signs of a general awakening to a more complete and natural life. Even some religious souls are beginning to understand that religion is not the tragic deification of the individual and is compatible with sociability and mirth, that man may be animated with the loftiest aspirations and rejoice at the same time. Sunday visits to museums and Sunday concerts are no longer looked upon as criminal, and although the would-be respectable part of the population is still very obstinate in the preservation of time-honoured habits, London parks and suburban resorts are

beginning to assume a more sociable, more Elizabethan character.

Such changes which are rather due to the general decay of Christian beliefs than to the growth of any positive ideals are, of course, vague and superficial, and can only be taken as symptoms. On the other hand, it can scarcely be said that true artistic creation meets with more support and encouragement from the public. Unlike continental countries, where the more artistic portion of the public, although not always very judicious, is open to originality and sometimes discovers genius, conventionality often of a distinctly Puritanic character is still very tyrannical in England. If an Anglophobe wishes to hear the subject of his antipathy soundly ridiculed and abused he need not go to Germany; he should attend a gathering of English artists.

We would not base our anticipations on such conflicting impressions, but if we take into account the English character as manifested before the Protestant outbreak, and even now by certain individuals, and if we understand the real causes which have for some time smothered or greatly fettered artistic genius, may we not confidently hope that England will gradually reassume the position she occupied in the artistic world in the merry days of the Tudors and the Stuarts?

Vu le 21 Novembre 1911 :
Le Doyen de la Faculté des lettres
de l'Université de Paris,
A. Croiset.

Vu et permis d'imprimer :
Le Vice-Recteur de l' Académie de Paris,
L. Liard.

AUTHORITIES

W. H. Adams, "The Merry Monarch."

E. Godfrey, "Social life under the Stuarts."

J. F. Molloy, "Royalty Restored,"

W. F. Taylor, "England under Charles II."

Peppy's and Evelyn's "Diaries."

Hamilton's "Memoirs of Grammont."

Sir Fr. J. Bridge, "Samuel Peppys, Lover of Music."

Ch. Burney, "General History of Music."

F. J. Crowest, "Story of British Music."

W. H. Cummings, "Purcell."

H. Davey, "History of English Music."

Husk, "Musical Celebrations on St Cecilia's Day."

Sir Hubert Parry, "Oxford History of Music," Vol. III.

W. B. Squire, "Purcell as Theorist"—"Purcell's dramatic music."

Grove's, "Dictionary of Music and Musicians."

"Dictionary of National Biography."